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The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages

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Persian Heritage Series
Edited by Ehsan Yarshater
Number 34

The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages

(Dēnkard VI)

by

Aturpāt-i Ēmētān

Translated by Shaul Shaked

Professor of Iranian Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Westview Press
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Preface

The present volume, the second in a projected series of five, is an annotated translation of Book VI of the *Dēnkard* (the Acts of Religion), an important Zoroastrian work in Middle Persian, together with a transcribed edition of its text. The *Dēnkard* is a large compendium of varied material, totaling about 169,000 words,[1] focusing on a defense of the Mazdeyansian faith and an exposition of its doctrines, tenets, and lore. It describes the dogma, traditions, customs, history, legends, and literature of the Zoroastrians as known to its chief author, Adurbād-i Ēmētān, a high priest of Persia in the ninth century. Book VI contains the largest collection of Zoroastrian moral maxims and precepts and is the fullest exposition of the ethical wisdom of Zoroastrian Iran in late Sasanian times.

Although the *Dēnkard* is based on pre-Islamic material and draws on Sasanian sources, its actual redaction took place in the ninth century—a time of particular significance in the history of Zoroastrian literature. Persia had fallen to the invading Muslim armies in the mid-seventh century. The fall of Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital; the flight of the last King of Kings; and the subsequent crumbling of the Sasanian state and collapse of its institutions heralded the most profound religious, social, and cultural change that Persia has sustained during its history. The Zoroastrian faith, under the pressure of the Arab army and the attraction of a creed free from the encumbrances of age-old traditions, began to give way to Islam, and in about a century the majority of Persians had embraced the new faith. The Zoroastrian community, once supreme, was reduced to a depressed minority. In the meantime, the Persian language, reflecting deep social transformations, assumed a new coloring, and the Middle Persian script, known for its exasperating ambiguity, was abandoned by the state in favor of the Arabic alphabet.

All these changes tended to isolate the Zoroastrian legacy and weaken appreciation of its tradition. Adding to the problems of the declining Zoroastrian community was its continual exposure to the theological

[1] According to E. W. West, *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, II, p. 91.

attack of erstwhile brethren now turned Muslim. The monistic faith of Islam, which above all else exalts the unity of God, would not relent in its onslaught on what it conceived as the Magian dualism. At this point, the concern of the leaders of the community for the defense of the faith and the instruction of the faithful in religious dogma and tradition can be readily appreciated. Inspired by a deep-seated faith, Zoroastrian scholar-priests undertook to write for their community in the traditional tongue and script. In fact, almost all the extant works of Zoroastrian literature in Middle Persian were compiled, edited, revised, or written in this century. The *Dēnkard* is the chief of these.

According to a statement by Adurbād in the last chapter of Book III,[2] early in the ninth century, because of the loss and dispersion of Zoroastrian holy writings, the need was felt to reconstitute a comprehensive work of Sasanian times called the Dēnkard Scriptures (*Dēnkard nipīk*). This seems to have been a canonized collection that included the Avesta, the Zoroastrians' holy scripture, and the *Zand*, its Middle Persian translation and commentary.[3] The reconstituted *Dēnkard* was begun by Ādur-farnbag Farrokhzādān, the high priest of Persia during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-33), and completed by Adurbād-i Ēmētān, who assumed the position of high priest in Pārs after Ādur-farnbag's son. He calls this reconstituted work the "Dēnkard of One Thousand Chapters," apparently to distinguish it from the original Dēnkard Scriptures. This explains the abundance of citations in the *Dēnkard* from older works in Pahlavi (i.e., Middle Persian), particularly from the *Zand* and from a work the authors designate as the "Exposition of the Good Religion."

The *Dēnkard* is no doubt the most important as well as the most extensive work in Middle Persian. It is an encyclopedic treasurehouse of information that contains, among other things, a number of older works in reduced or paraphrased form. The extant *Dēnkard* consists of seven books, III to IX. The first two books are lost, and the beginning of Book III is missing. There is no way of knowing the exact extent of the original work. Books III, IV, and V are generally grouped together and are

[2]See *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, tr. J. de Menasce, Paris, 1973, pp. 379-80.
[3]Cf. ibid., pp. 5-6.

characterized by their apologetic approach.[4] They contain answers to questions about Zoroastrian doctrines and conduct; exposition of Zoroastrian beliefs; religious history and instructions; a life of the Prophet Zoroaster; a description of the wrongdoings of the Evil Spirit and his agents; a history of the holy scriptures; and a description of the development and division of the races of mankind. By and large, it aims at a defense of the faith and a refutation on rational grounds of other higher religions.

Books VI through IX, on the other hand, purport to provide knowledge and furnish instruction for the faithful. Book VI is a work of gnomic literature and contains a collection of religious dicta and moral maxims, rules of conduct, and a description of the characteristics of good and evil. The sayings are chiefly attributed to the "Early Men of Faith" and the "Ancient Sages," who carry great weight in Zoroastrian works of this genre.

The main topics of Book VII are the marvelousness of the Zoroastrian religion; a detailed account of the wonderful career of the Prophet; a foretelling of the events that would befall the community in the millennia after Zoroaster; and an account of the coming of the Saviours to battle evil; and the coming of the final Saviour, which brings about the defeat of the wicked and restores the world to its original purity and peace.

Book VIII contains summaries of the 21 *Nasks* (treatises) of the Avesta as it existed in the *Zand*. This book is an important part of the *Dēnkard*, since it gives an account of the *Nasks* on worldly knowledge,[5] notably medicine, that were included in the Sasanian Avesta and *Zand* but subsequently lost, the extant Avesta being confined largely to liturgical texts.

Book IX is almost entirely devoted to a paraphrase of three Avestan *Nasks* on religious doctrine and practice.

If the arrangement of the *Dēnkard* and the treatment of topics appear to a modern reader somewhat unsystematic and unbalanced, or

[4]J. P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazde'enne, le Dēnkart*, Paris, 1958, p. 7; M. Boyce, in *HBuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik*, II, 1968, p. 44.
[5]For a division of the Sasanian Avesta into religious, worldly, and intermediate knowledge, see W. E. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV (The Sacred Books of the East), p. xxxix.

even at times confused or arbitrary, it is partly because he or she is dealing with a religious and cultural tradition whose norms and premises are not readily grasped by outsiders. It must also be remembered, as J. de Menasce rightly pointed out,[6] that in a work of this kind, aiming as it does to prevent an erosion of faith, it is not the firmly established doctrines and practices that become the focus of discussion, but what is controversial or in danger of being doubted or forgotten. Hence a certain imbalance in the *Dēnkard*.

A poor manuscript tradition and an imprecise and difficult script, coupled with the complexity and dryness of the Middle Persian theological idiom, combine to make a clear understanding of many passages of the *Dēnkard* a task beyond the capability even of experts. It is no wonder, then, that after more than a century of serious research in Middle Persian literature, and many worthy efforts, a complete, satisfactory translation of the *Dēnkard* is still lacking.[7]

Some ten years ago, the Persian Heritage Series decided to encourage and facilitate the publication of a new annotated translation of the *Dēnkard* that would reflect the latest research in the field. Major progress was made in this respect when the late Jean-Pierre de Menasce completed his French translation of Book III, which comprises just under half the text of the *Dēnkard*. This was published in our Series in 1973 (Librairie Klincksieck, Paris) in conjunction with L'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris.

Professor Shaked's painstaking edition and annotated translation of Book VI, another major section of the *Dēnkard*, is the second volume to be published in the Series. It is hoped that it will not be too long before the set is complete and students of Zoroastrian religion and of ancient Iran can benefit by it.

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Columbia University

[6] *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne*, p. 5.
[7] For an account of the editions and translations of the *Dēnkard*, see *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne*, p. 4; and *HBuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik*, p. 44.

D. H. Baneth
W. B. Henning

In Memoriam

Introduction

I. Dēnkard VI and the Andarz Literature

The sixth book of the *Dēnkard* ("The Act of the Religion"), that huge compendium of Zoroastrian theology and traditional lore,[1] constitutes the largest collection of gnomic sayings which has survived in Pahlavi. It is also without doubt the most important collection of its kind from the point of view of its contents.

It is possible, in general, to distinguish between two types of gnomic, or *andarz*, literature in Pahlavi.[2] A distinction can be made between compositions containing mainly pragmatic advice and those which have primarily religious character. Although one cannot expect absolute separation of themes, since, on the one hand, there is very little that is entirely secular in early Iranian literature,[3] and, on the other, some religious writings sometimes deal with problems of everyday life, the separation is not too difficult to make. It is indeed surprisingly clear and valid.

One of the most celebrated sages of the Sasanian period, Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, is supposed to have been the author of quite a number of *andarz* compositions. Two of the main treatises which bear his name, *Andarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān* (= *AdMah*) and *Wāzag ēcand ī Ādurbād ī Mahras-*

---

[1] On the *Dēnkard* cf. E.W. West, in *GIPh*, II, 91 ff.; J.C. Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 45 ff.; J. de Menasce, *Encyclopédie*. In Persian there is a book by Moḥammad Javād Maškūr, *Goftāri dar bāre-ye Dinkard*, Tehran 1325 H/1946.

[2] On the *andarz* literature in general see the works by West, Tavadia and de Menasce quoted in the preceding note as well as Christensen, *Iran*, 431 ff.; Eckhardt Fichtner, "Untersuchungen zu den mittelpersischen *Handarzhá*, *Trudy XXV meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov*, II, Moscow 1963, pp. 328-329; "Über sprachliche Form und Rythmik mittel- und neupersischer Sprüche", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*. Berlin, XI (1965), 55-70.

[3] Though there are, of course, the heroic romances, pieces of historical narrative, and compositions of what one may call *Unterhaltungsliteratur* (such as *King Xusrō and his page*, *Draxt asūrīg* etc.).

pandān (= *WāzAd*), are textually related to each other, but from the point of view of the typology suggested here they belong to two different groups: the former is definitely secular and pragmatic, the latter is markedly pious.[4] The three other pieces of *andarz* which are attributed to Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān also belong to the 'pious' class. The only other surviving *andarz* compositions which can be said to have a definitely secular character are *Ošnar* and *Wehzād*.[5]

The great bulk of *andarz* books surviving in Pahlavi seem to have belonged to the type of compositions which could be used in religious instruction. That much else must have existed in the Sasanian period which was lost and did not come down to us can be seen from fragments quoted in the Islamic literature,[6] as well as from such books which are closely related to the *andarz* type, that is to say, books which are meant to be instructive or edifying, besides being entertaining, though they use a narrative style, not the style of short gnomic sayings, like *Xusrō ud rēdag*,[7] *Wizārišn ī catrang*,[8] or *Draxt asūrīg*.[9]

[4] The correspondences between *WāzAd* and *AdMah* are as follows:

WāzAd	§21f.	= *Admah*	§149
	§39	=	§5
	§48f.	=	§11
	§69	=	§16

WāzAd has a particular affinity with *PN*, which latter text probably borrowed from *WāzAd*. As far as the contents are concenred, one can notice a definite relationship between *WāzAd* and chapter 199 in *Dk* III, which contains the admonitions of Ādurbād. As opposed to the worldly nature of *AdMah*, one has hardly an instance of pragmatic advice in *WāzAd*.

[5] For the abbreviations used here and throughout the book cf. the List of Abbreviations at the end.

[6] The best collections of Sasanian *andarz* material in Arabic and Persian are Misk., *JX*; *'Ahd Ardašīr* (ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1967); *The Letter of Tansar* (ed. Mojtabā Minovi, Tehran 1932; trsl. M. Boyce, Rome 1968); and the great collections of Islamic *adab* like Mas'ūdī, Tha'ālibī, Ibn Qutayba, Tawḥīdī etc. Cf. K.A. Inostrantsev, *Persidskaja literaturnaja traditsija v pervie veka islama*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 8e série, vol. VIII, No. 13, St. Petersburg 1909. (An english translation under the title *Iranian influence on Moslem literature*, by G.K. Nariman, Bombay 1918, is available.) Also Muḥammad Muḥammadī, *Al-tarjama wa-l-naql 'an al-fārisiyya fī l-qurūn al-islāmiyya al-ūlā*, I, Beirut 1964.

[7] Cf. West, *GIPh*, II, 118; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 134 f.

[8] West, *GIPh*, II, 119; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 139 f.

[9] West, *GIPh*, II, 119; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 133 f.

Within the fairly large group of *andarz* books of religious character, *Dēnkard* VI forms quite clearly a category by itself. All other *andarz* compositions, whether religious or secular, can be said to possess popular character. They are all meant for instruction on a fairly elementary level, whether for young people or for adults. *Dēnkard* VI, in contrast, is evidently addressed to an audience on a higher intellectual level. It contains many sayings of a sophisticated nature, based on allusions which contain literary associations or puns,[10] sometimes hard for us to understand, and it also contains a small number of quite obscure hints which seem to possess some esoteric significance.[11]

The *Dēnkard* was compiled in the ninth century A.D.[12] There can be, however, little doubt that much of the material contained in the sixth book (as well as in some of the other books) is based on oral traditions, possibly also on written literary documents, of the Sasanian period, while some of it seems to go even further back in antiquity.[13] The book is introduced as presenting "what has been done and held by the orthodox and the utterance of the Mazdean religion", that is, of the Avesta. And indeed, we know that the Avesta did contain portions of *andarz* character;[14] in addition certain portions in *Dēnkard* VI seem to be formulated in the unnatural Middle Persian style typical of translations from the Avesta.[15]

The "orthodox" (*pōryōtkēšān*) are glossed as being "the early sages" (*dānāgān pēšēnīgān*).[16] The sayings in the first part, all anonymous, are introduced by the formula: "They held this too thus", which relates them to the same traditional source. Similar formulae are used in other parts of the book. It is hard to tell what authorities are precisely designated by the title *pōryōtkēšān*, which derives from the Avesta. Besides these general attributions, there are a number of sayings which are ascribed to specific sages by name. These are Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, Ādurbād ī Zarduštān, Xusrō of Immortal Soul,

[10] Cf. below in chapter II of the Introduction.

[11] Cf. Shaked, *Esoteric trends*.

[12] Cf. West, loc. cit. (above, note 1).

[13] Cf. Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 37 ff.; Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 65 f.

[14] Menasce, op. cit., 38 f., and some further passages in *Dk* VIII and IX.

[15] This may be the case, for example, with sections 12, 45, 69, 93 and other sections, although it is by no means easy to identify such cases with any certainty.

[16] Cf. commentary **1a. 2.**

Baxt-Āfrīd, Ādurfarnbag, all of whom are familiar as authors of *andarz* from other texts as well. Other sages mentioned are Ohrmazd ī Sigzīg, Wehdād ī Ādur-Ohrmazdān, Ādur-Mihr and Ādur-Narseh, Ādur-Bōzēd.[17] All identifyable persons are of the Sasanian period. This does not necessarily mean that the sayings attributed to them are all Sasanian. It is possible to suppose that in some cases earlier wisdom bears the name of the Sasanian sage who transmitted it; and it is equally possible to argue that there may have been cases of late gnomic sayings attributed pseudepigraphically to Sasanian sages. However, as neither hypothesis can be proved, there is no point in denying authenticity to these attributions, especially as they do not go against our knowledge of Sasanian literature. As far as one can see, the usual attributions of *andarz* compositions are quite consistent in the various, seemingly independent, sources.[18] This fact strengthens the impression that on the whole the attribution of individual pieces of *andarz* can be trusted as reflecting a sound tradition.

It has been stated above that the Avesta contained sayings of the *andarz* type, though the portions of the Avesta where such sayins must have existed are lost in their original language, and only summaries in Pahlavi preserve in some cases the general contents of the Avestan text. *Dēnkard* VI preserves in some of its sections echoes of an Avestan *andarz*; much more frequently, however, it presents what seems to us an exegetical elaboration on Avestan passages, that is to say Zand, though this is seldom explicitly said. Some of this can be guessed from the fairly common use of a *midrashic* style of commentary on religious concepts; this developed presumably from the exegesis of the Avesta, and examples of this kind can be seen in actual commentaries in Pahlavi on Avestan passages.[19] *Dēnkard* VI itself abounds in instances of spiritualized commentary similar to that encountered in the Jewish *midrash* literature.[20]

[17] Details of these persons (in so far as known) will be found in the commentary.

[18] It is possible to refer for example to the various texts attributed to Ādurbād, discussed above (cf. note 4), or to the numerous Wuzurgmihr texts, in the Pahlavi and Arabic versions.

[19] A good example for this procedure is afforded by the interpretation of Avestan *arəš* as if it were to refer to *arīš*, the demon; cf. Molé, *Culte*, 204.

[20] Cf. the notes in *Esoteric trends*, 199 f., and the remarks in section II of this Introduction about puns and other literary devices and about the spiritualized interpretations of *Dk* VI.

II. Structure of the Book

Dēnkard VI is obviously a compilation drawn from various sources. That it is not a homogeneous collection of sayings done originally by a single author can best be seen by the fact that it contains a number of large sections each of which could have constituted a collection by itself. These sections are distinguished from each other by their recurring opening formulae. This formal feature was used by Sanjana, the first editor of the text, for dividing the book into parts and further into small sections, a division which has been retained in the present edition for the convenience of reference. Although these opening formulae are a good and reliable guide in most cases, it is nevertheless obvious that they can be misleading in a small number of cases. In some cases the saying does not begin in the place marked by the opening formula,[1] and in other cases the absence of the opening formula led Sanjana to group together sayings which are quite clearly separate.[2] When trying to distinguish between the large parts of the book the shift from one formula to another does not always mark the beginning of a new collection of sayings.[3] Despite these disadvantages it has seemed best to retain Sanjana's system of numbering the paragraphs, as this facilitates reference from this edition to Sanjana's, though when necessary further division into sub-sections has been introduced.

Another point which may serve as an indication that the book is not the homogeneous composition of a single author is the fact that there are quite a number of duplicate passages in the book, that is to say, several sayings occur more than once in identical or similar versions in different parts of the book.[4] Many, if not all, of the sayings contained in *Dk* VI must have circulated independently, whether orally or in written form, and some of them presumably formed part of other *andarz* collections. This assumption would account for the fact that isolated passages from *Dk* VI are found in Miskawayhi's *Jāwīdān Xirad*, in Arabic version, and sometimes small groups of *Dk* VI sayings

[1] For example, D7e, which forms in effect the first part of D8, though the opening formula *gōwēnd* comes only at the beginning of the latter.

[2] Cf. for example E45, which contains a number of sayings not marked by any formula.

[3] As will be noticed below, B48-C47 form one collection, although B48-B53 seemingly belong to the group of sayings beginning with *ud ēn-ez paydāg*, while C1 ff. have the formula *ud ēn-ez ēdōn*.

[4] References are given in the commentary.

come there together (though in a different order),[5] while in other cases, usually whole *andarz* compilations are given in full, and seem to preserve their original order even through the Arabic version.[6] Order in this kind of text is a particularly precarious matter, as the sayings are for the most part only very loosely related to each other.

The assumption that *Dk* VI consists of what used to be separate collections of sayings is strengthened by the fact that certain phrases which seem to indicate the end of a book or a collection occur in the middle of *Dk* VI. An example for this kind of statement is:

> A person who knows how to heed these several subjects which are written in this book is better acquainted with his own self and that of others (**66**).

This would appear to be an appropriate closing or opening formula for a collection, but appears somewhat out of place where it stands. A similar statement can be made with regard to the following:

> This constitutes a copy (made) from the book of Ādurbād, son of Mahraspand, which they came and set out to do by the consultation of the orthodox (**A6d**).

This remark, one may be entitled to assume, once served as colophon to one of the manuscripts from which the compiler of *Dk* VI culled a whole group of sayings – perhaps the whole of Part Two (i.e. **A1-A6d**), if not Parts One and Two (i.e. **1-A6d**), of *Dk* VI – which he incorporated in the composition of his book without bothering to remove the label attached to it.

The book as it now stands can be said to consist of several well defined divsions which may have constituted formerly individual collections of *andarz*. The divisions which can be distinguished in the book are the following:

I From the beginning to the end of **A6d**. All of this constitutes one large division, devoted mainly to religious matters, with emphasis on inner piety and devotion to the gods. Small groups of sayings which belong together can sometimes be noticed to exist inside this division.

[5] E.g. Misk., *JX*, 38.18–39.6, where the following sequence of sayings can be established: *Dk* VI 31; unidentified passage; **D1c**; another unidentified passage; **131**; **224**.

[6] The best example for this is *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*, found in a complete Arabic version in Misk., *JX*, 29-37.

A tentative list of such small coherent units inside this division may be drawn as follows:[7]

1a-47 (?)	162-164
48-49	165-170
50-54	171-185 (?)
55-58	189-198
59-66 (?)	199-200
67-71 (?)	208-209
77-79	215-217
80-81	221-224
104-105	235-237
113-120 (?)	239-240
128-132	255-256
134-135	264-265
138-140	276-280; 281-283; 284-294 (?)
141-152	302-325 (?)
158-161	A5-A6d

II There follow a number of smaller units. **B1-B47** is a collection which begins by stating the difference between the creation of Ohrmazd and that of Ahreman, the function of Zoroaster in relation to the Renovation, the difference between truth and lie, righteousness and sin. The two types of wisdom are discussed, and the various practical applications of the faculty of wisdom in discerning excess from the right measure are enumerated. This division ends with a warning to practise great circumspection in one's behaviour in this world.

III **B48-C47** is a large division which contains sayings with an identical structure: "One should not do A, for he is (or does) B who does A". This division may have belonged to the same collection as that of the preceding division, **II**, for both divisions are mainly concerned with judging the various human qualities. Against this observation one may point out that, in contrast to the order of qualities in this division (**III**), the approach of **B14**ff. is much more systematic, and seems to be based on the principles

[7] While some of the units indicated here may be questioned, some additional groups of paragraphs could be suggested as belonging together.

of Aristotelian ethics.[8] The qualities mentioned in **B48-C47** also seem to be different from those of division II by being more mundane and pragmatic.

IV **C48-C83** might have belonged to one collection. Much of this division consists of sayings which enumerate various qualities or activities which lead to other qualities or attitudes, good or bad. The division concludes with a number of lists of various qualities.

V **D1-D12** is a distinct group of sayings which are characterized by the fact that most of the paragraphs refer to authors by name. This division is marked also by the fact that it contains a number of anecdotes serving as *exempla* with a moral.

VI **E1-E45n** constitutes a collection of miscellaneous sayings on religious subjects, mostly anonymous.

Although *Dk* VI seems to be made up of what was previously several distinct divisions, the order of sayings inside each group being generally more or less arbitrary,[9] it is not an altogether aimless collection of miscellaneous sayings. Its general religious character is well defined, and in contrast to other religious *andarz* compilations, it deals less with ceremonial duties, the confession of faith and the right belief, and tends towards themes of mental devotion, one might almost say contemplation.

Some points of literary interest may perhaps be made. Instances of figurative speech are fairly common in *Dk* VI, and examples for the kind of similes used are:

> Character is "numerous" like the grass on hills and plains **(186)**.
>
> Joy should be held in as much gentleness as one keeps a young boy **(189, 222, E30b)**.
>
> A teacher is like a mirror **(224)**.
>
> People desire to get away from poverty just as they try to avoid the expenses involved in providing a cistern for rain-water or in building a wall against an attack **(304)**.
>
> Religion and the sacred word are like flesh and skin **(324)**.

[8] Cf. Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 52 f.

[9] Though there are often some sequences which are meaningful. It is on the strength of these sequences that the attempt to discover groups of sayings in the first division of the book, made above, is based.

> The body should be made like a cavity, not like a peak **(208, E35b)**.

These similes are apparently typical of Middle Persian literature. One encounters similar devices in Manichean literature in Middle Persian,[10] as well as in the Islamic literary fragments reflecting Sasanian antecedents.[11]

A feature which characterized the style of some passages of *Dk* VI is that of introducing a theme by means of a riddle, which is subsequently solved:

> There is [one] thing [with regard to which the following is true:] One who stands inside it does not long (to be) away from it, and one who does not stand inside it longs for it **(57)**.
>
> Every one who stands in the religion does not long (to be) away from where he stands **(58)**.

Without **58** the preceding paragraph is obscure, and seems to be deliberately phrased in an unintelligible manner. It is possible to surmise that this was not originally a literary device, but that we have here a reflection of the oral way of teaching. It is a well known technique of instruction to arouse interest and puzzlement by first making a statement which sounds paradoxical or unintelligible and then interpreting it in the manner desired.[12] The same technique may be useful as a rhetorical device in public preaching.[13] There are a number of other examples for such riddles in *Dk* VI.[14]

There are several instances for the use of puns as a device for driving home a moral or religious point.[15] Thus we have a play on the similarity of *mehgārīh*

[10] For example, in *MirMan* I, 203, where the creation of the world is likened to the work of various artisans. Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian verse abounds in examples of such devices.

[11] One need only recall the famous parables in Burzōzye's introduction to *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Similar devices are found in the *Testament of Ardashir*, or in passages from *Šāhnāma* clearly derived from Middle Persian literature; for a particularly striking example see the commentary **304.** *5.* where the corresponding *Šāhnāma* passage is quoted.

[12] Cf. L. Renou, "The enigma in the ancient literature of India", *Diogenes*, 29 (1960), 32-41.

[13] This seems to be the basis for some passages in the Jewish *midrash* literature which are phrased like a riddle followed by its solution. Cf. I. Heinemann, *Darḳe ha-aggada*, Jerusalem 1954, 12.

[14] Cf. **53, 131, A3, E13-E14.**

[15] Etymological (or pseudo-etymological) explanations are very common in early and later Indian literature. For the Jewish midrash cf. Heinemann, *op. cit.* (above, n. 13), 110 ff.

and *med-kārīh* in 46; on the two meanings of the word *ox* "mind" and "lord", in 30; on the similarity of *kār* "action" and *kārān* "people" in 132; of *hōg* and *āhōg* in 260. The word *māndag* "sin" is defined as that which "remains" (*mānēd*) in 37. The term *hunsand-xīr*, which means "content, satisfied", is treated in the context of 197 as if it meant "satisfied with (material) things", taking the second part of the compound as if it had its full etymological value.

In some cases we also have instances of spiritualized interpretations of common terms. "To eat a hearty meal" and similar phrases in 319 are given a religious sense; a spiritualized definition of generosity is given in 23 and 91. Drinking *haoma*, drinking wine and wearing the sacred girdle are defined spiritually in 108, and the vices of evil thinking, theft, etc., are similarly treated in 269.[16]

III. Some Themes in Dēnkard VI

It is difficult to deal with the themes which come up in this book in isolation from the rest of Zoroastrian literature. It is also difficult to impose a systematic point of view on a book like this, which is essentially a collection of sayings and was not meant to present a continuous argument. The following notes are therefore only valid with a certain reservation.

Wisdom (*xrad*), knowledge (*dānišn, dānāgīh*), and associated terms figure prominently in the sayings of *Dk* VI. In contrast to other texts in Pahlavi where the concept of Wisdom is extolled, and where it becomes an independent divine hypostasis equal to or higher than the Amahraspands[1] (the six divine entities which serve as companions to Ohrmazd) or where it seems to hold the position of a pragmatic instrument for achieving high position and success in life,[2] in *Dk* VI the use of this term is part of a complete religious system. Thus we have the sequence 'knowledge' (*dānāgīh*), 'sagacity' (*frazānagīh*) and 'manliness' (*mardābagīh*) by which the world was created and is

[16] Further examples for the same process are: 3, 113, 267, 322, D1c. An analogy to this could be adduced, for example, from the interpretation of water as a symbol of the Law in Jewish midrash; cf. Heinemann, *op. cit.*, 132 f.

[1] This is the case in *Mēnōg ī Xrad* "The Spirit Wisdom", where the first chapter especially puts wisdom above everything else.

[2] Such is the spirit of the two poetic compositions on wisdom, cf. "A Hymn to Wisdom" and "A Poem in Praise of Wisdom", published by me in *Herning Mem. Vol.*, 395 ff.

maintained, and by which it[3] will become joyful or renovated (311). This is interpreted by the following section (312), which seems to transpose 'wisdom' (*xrad*) for 'knowledge' (*dānāgīh*); the ethical and eschatological interpretation of the initial statement in 311 is strengthened by 313, which compares 'wisdom' to the fire (of ordeal).

Knowledge is a prerequisite of religion. It constitutes an essential distinction between the two powers: it is the desire of Ohrmazd to be known, while it is Ahreman's wish not to be known (31).

One aspect of wisdom, so it seems, is the frequently uttered admonition that every person should get a clear and definite notion of his own position with regard to his origins, divine or demonic affiliation, and ultimate end. The requirement for self-knowledge is uttered more than once in *Dk* VI (e.g. in 227, 302, D6a, 136), and has numerous parallels in other books.[4] The classical formulation of this requirement is made at the beginning of the text known under the title of *Pand-nāmag* or *Cīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*:

> The orthodox, namely the adherents of the first knowledge,[5] have said in the Revelation which comes from the Religion.[6] Every man, when he reaches the age of fifteen, should know these several things: "Who am I? Whose am I? From whence did I come? Whither shall I return? Of what lineage and seed am I? What is my duty to this world? What is the reward of the other world? Did I come from the other world or did I originate in this world? Do I belong to Ohrmazd or to Ahreman? Do I belong to the gods or to the demons? Do I belong to the good or to the wicked? Am I a man or a demon? How many ways are there? Which religion[7] is mine? What is my benefit, and what is my harm? Who is my friend and who is my enemy? Is there one principle or two? From whom is there goodness and from whom evil? From whom is there light and from whom darkness? From whom is there fragrance and from whom stench? From whom is there lawfulness and from whom lack of law? From

[3] Or, as translated in the body of this book, "He", i.e., Ohrmazd.

[4] *PhlT* 57 (§11); 39 (*APēš* II §5); *ŠGV* X, beginning.

[5] *fradom-dānišnān*, cf. 1a. 2.

[6] I.e., from the Avesta.

[7] *dēn* means not necessarily an established religion in the conventional sense, but a faculty of the individual which represents the person's religious consciousness. Cf. further in this Introduction.

whom is there forgiveness and from whom lack of compassion? (*PhlT* 41).[8]

In addition to this emphasis on self-knowlegde, there is considerable emphasis also on a candid statement of one's knowledge. One should honestly state that which one does not know (**2, 183, E36**), and ask the right authorities about such things (154). In character with the nature of the Zoroastrian religion, wisdom should be turned towards action (**24**), and must be supplemented and restrained by goodness, for otherwise the dangers of heresy and tyranny are inherent in it (128; *PhlT* 151f. *WāzAd* §68). "Character" (*xēm*) in certain contexts seems to hold a more important position in the hierarchy than wisdom (**6, E8, 253**), while in other contexts we seem to have *dēn* ("religion") or *ruwān* ("soul") as the notions above wisdom in a hierarchical setting (**3**).

In contrast to this, the notion of wisdom comes first in the hierarchy of abstract notions in *andarz* texts of the popular-religious type, such as *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr* "The Memorial of Wuzurgmihr",[9] or the *Pand Nāmag* "The Book of Counsel" or "The Selected Admonitions of the Orthodox".[10] In these texts the function of Wisdom is to direct Man towards a recognition of his religious duty in life, leading to reward and punishment in the afterlife:

> The Creator Ohrmazd, in order to hold back those several demons, and to help Man, created so many watchful things of the spirit: innate wisdom, acquired wisdom, character, hope, contentment, religion (*dēn*), and the consultation of the wise.
>
> What is the function of each one of these spirits? The function of innate wisdom is to guard oneself from causing fear,[11] from deliberate sin, and fruitless toil; to pay heed to the decay of the things of this world and the end of the body; not to decrease that which pertains to the Renovation and not to increase that which pertains to one's transience.
>
> The function of acquired wisdom is to recognize the righteous path and

[8] The text has been edited and translated several times. Cf. particularly A. Freiman, in *WZKM*, 20 (1906), 149-165, 237-280; Nyberg, *Hlfsb.*, I, 17-30; H. Corbin, *Poure Davoud Commemoration Volume*, II, Bombay 1951, 129-160; Zaehner, *Magi*, 20-28; M. Nawabi, *RFLT*, 12 No. 4 (Winter 1339), 513-535; M.F. Kanga, Bombay 1960.

[9] Cf., e.g., *PhlT* 92 (*AW* §53-58).

[10] E.g. *PhlT* 46f. (*PN* §37-38).

[11] That is, from doing things which are reprehensible in the religion, and which therefore entail fear of demons and eschatological punishment.

> way and to stand in it; to consider that which has passed before and to be cognizant of that which will come after; not to believe in that which cannot be, and not to begin a work which cannot be completed (*PhlT* 90f. *Aw* §43-47).[12]

In the group of writings which we have termed the secular texts of the *andarz* type, quite a different notion of wisdom occurs. As an example we may quote a short passage from the text attributed to Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān:

> To you, my son, the fortunate, I say: The best thing for men is wisdom. For if, heaven forbid, wealth is gone, or the cattle dies, wisdom shall remain. Be diligent in the profession of religion, for contentment is the greatest knowledge, and the greatest hope is the spirit (*PhlT* 67 *AdMah* §104f.).

Religion is of course advocated, but wisdom is mentioned in a more prominent position, and in a somewhat pragmatic function, as that which is capable of sustaining a person even when his wealth is gone.[13]

Two practical ways by which wisdom can be acquired and developed are often mentioned: education (*frahang*) or discipleship (*hāwištīh*); and the consultation of the wise or good people (*hampursagīh ī dānāgān, hampursagīh ī wehān*). Both ideas are associated with that of the *ērbadestān*, the place of learning, and sometimes with the fire-temple (*mān ī ātaxšān, dar ī ātaxšān*).

Education must be sought and cultivated. It is the seed of knowledge and its fruit is wisdom.[14] From education, through wisdom, one attains to right conduct and to the fulfilment of Man's duty in the world, which is to drive out the demons from the world (**C49-C50**). Responsibility for educating one's wife and slaves lies with the head of the family, who ought to treat them well (the notion of *frahang* obviously entails also the idea of reprimanding and chastising those who committed an error).[15] One should love

[12] The text goes on to enumerate the function of the other faculties.

[13] Cf. the "Hymn in Praise of Wisdom" (above, note 2), and *Ošnar* §39.

[14] *PhlT* 47 (*PN* §41).

[15] *PhlT* 59 (*AdMah* §13). It should be noted that *zan ud frazand ī xwēš jud az frahang be ma hil* does not mean "Do not withhold your wife and child from culture" (R.N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, New York 1975, p. 20 with note 44 on p. 250); it signifies rather "Do not let your wife and child be without correction (or discipline)".

them without being excessively passionate, and avoid constantly mentioning to them their faults, obviously in order not to discourage them (**C33-C38**). The guilt for sins committed by untaught children accrues to their parents.[16] One *andarz* passage in the "secular" group of texts urges one to send his children to the writing school, the *dibīristān*, "for writing is happiness".[17]

Adults are enjoined never to cease attending the *ērbadestān* as a way of ensuring right faith (**98, 84**). A somewhat differently formulated advice is to make oneself a disciple (**110**). It is not made clear whether this implies specific attachment to an individual master, or just a general attitude of submissive willingness to learn. It seems possible to assume that the requirement concerning the *ērbadestān* is such as may apply to every member of the Zoroastrian community, while the one mentioning discipleship is restricted to those who are or intend to become priests. The term "disciple" (*hāwišt*) does indeed occur specifically as a grade in the preparation for priesthood,[18] and detailed advice on how to behave towards one's master occurs in a treatise which describes the character of priests (*Abar panj xēm ī āhrōnān*):

> First, to behave in a manner deserving good fame so as to give one's chief, teacher, judge and father their due of good fame. [The second admonition is to avoid bad fame.] Third, that which one has not heard from one's teacher not to utter in his name, so as not to hurt him and afflict him with a very long stick. Fourth, that which has been taught by one's teacher to impart generously to the worthy, so as not to take away from the righteous the manifestation of (their) name (*PhlT* 130 §7, 9, 10).[19]

Education cannot change a person's character, but those whose character is not fixed for good or bad can be changed by it (**68**). The character of some people is hard to determine, and only with great effort of education is it possible to see whether they are good or bad (**104, 102**). The best education is by personal example, for which the simile of a mirror is used (**223, 224**).

[16] *PhlT* 46 (*PN* §34).
[17] *PhlT* 63 (*AdMah* §58).
[18] On *hāwišt* see my note in *Esoteric trends*, 203 ff.
[19] There is no evidence to support the theories of ecstatic groups of disciples following their masters in Iran as argued, for example, by G. Widengren, *Orientalia Suecana*, 2 (1953), 60 f.

One comes across frequent injunctions to consult good people. "It is necessary to direct a man's soul mostly to three places, to the houses of sages, to the houses of good people, and to the houses of fire" (**323**), in order to become wiser, more pious and free from demons. Similarly we are told: "Go forth every day to the assembly of the good for consultation. For to him who goes forth more to the assembly of the good for the sake of consultation they (scil. the gods) allot more good deeds and righteousness".[20] It is important not to withdraw anything from the consultation of good people in order to correct one's faults and to obtain the virtues which other people possess in addition to those which one already has (**251, 255, 294, 95**; *PhlT* 91 *AW* §51).

On the mundane level, the company of the good or of the wise is often praised and enjoined in the *andarz* texts, both in those which are 'secular' and in the 'religious' ones. Thus, in the former group, we are told: "Consult and be a friend to a man of noble extraction, skilful, intelligent and of good character",[21] and the advice is given to give one's daughter in marriage to a wise man.[22]

"Good people" (*wehān*) often form a pair with "gods" (*yazdān*). One should surrender oneself to the gods and to good people, as a result of which goodness inhabits one (**C77**). The good are presented as being in the material world like gods in the spiritual world: "One who is here with the good will be there with the gods" (**133**). Those who are on the highest religious level associate with the gods, those who are on a lower level associate with the righteous, and those still lower associate with worthy people (**206**). Gods and good people are here seen to be, as it were, on one continuum. What separates them is a question of degree, not of substance. The same applies to the relationship between the wicked and the demons. This is not surprising, in view of the conception that the soul is itself a deity; the soul of a righteous person would certainly be divine.

The phrase "to eat with the gods" may be interpreted to mean "to eat with good people" (**319**). In the catechism contained in the *Pand-Nāmag* the questions one asks oneself include the following: "Am I Ohrmazd's or Ahreman's?

[20] *PhlT* 152 (*WāzAd* §70-71); *PhlT* 47 (*PN* §44). In a similar sense also 251.
[21] *PhlT* 60 (*AdMah* §31). Also to keep the company of the wise: *Ošnar* §27; *PhlT* 99 (*AW* §204); to respect the wise: *PhlT* 61 (*AdMah* §36).
[22] *PhlT* 62 (*AdMah* §50); 65 (91).

Am I the gods' or the demons'? Do I belong to the good or to the wicked? Am I a man or a demon?" (*PhlT* 41).

The kernel of the religious life is of course faith (*warrawišn*). It is the prerequisite for achieving the state of righteousness (*ahlawīh, ahlāyīh*), which is linked, in terms of religious law, to being "innocent, not-guilty, acquitted" (*buxt*), as against the state of guilt (*ērangīh*).[23]

Real faith entails constantly thinking of the good spiritual and earthly beings **(E4)**, and is described as being as ardent and glowing as a blacksmith's iron **(E22f, D10)**. The purpose and realization of faith is the religious action; there is no value, it seems, to devotion without religious action **(E15)**. This is the sense of the Zoroastrian triad: thought – speech – action, where the first constituent paves the way and leads through the second to the third, in which thought is realized. However, doing one's duty acquires its full sense from the intention accorded to it. The current expression for this is that one does something "for the sake of the gods" or "for the sake of the soul" **(A2)**. In fact, if one does everything for the sake of the gods alone, one becomes righteous (*ahlaw*) no matter how one does it **(273-274)**. In the "assembly of the spirits" those good actions not accomplished by someone who did as much as was in his power and desired to do more are also taken into account. Similarly, with regard to a wicked person, even evil deeds not committed are taken into account **(140)**.

One of the important expressions for faith is the phrase "to surrender oneself to the gods" **(28, 166)**. There is an element of dependence on the gods implied in those passages which speak of one's surrendering oneself to them **(E1)**, the gods tending and caring for that person, but one is warned not to stop striving and expending effort, for the things of the soul are a person's own responsibility **(291)**. Slipping off from the faith and turning to the demons is a negative act, but the Pahlavi texts contain expressions which show compassion for the grief of the wicked man who realizes how he has been deluded by the demons **(E12)**.

"Religion" (*dēn*) in Zoroastrianism has a connotation which makes it similar to "soul": it is, namely, an aspect of the individual person's *mēnōg*, a power of one's soul. However, the religious language of Zoroastrianism never loses the other connotations of the term. It also denotes the abstract notion

[23] The terms were treated by me in *Mon. Nyberg*, II, 216 ff.

of religion, and the collective or institutional idea of religion, and is the proper name of a cosmic entity. At the same time it is also a term which designates the text of the Avesta, in expressions such as: *pad dēn paydāg* "It is manifest in the Avesta".

The dearest thing to man, which he has to put in order, and which assures him of happiness even though other things are not in order, is religion **(33)**. It seems possible "to stand in the religion" by doing various things in conformity with one's own disposition: to desire to be rich or poor, learned or ignorant **(310)**. The substance of the religion is like a mirror, and by looking at it one sees all the goodness and the evil which are in him **(261)**. Another simile used is that of light and darkness: righteous acts done by man cause light to guide one towards religion, while sinful acts cause one's religion to be covered with darkness **(290)**. It is said that the religion is like the king's road **(173)**, or that there is a certain reciprocal movement between man and his religion: if you step forward towards it, it comes forth a thousand steps towards you **(61)**. Using a different metaphor, if you turn your face towards the religion, it discloses to you many things which you have never heard from anyone and which prove to be correct **(63)**. Seemingly in contrast with the preceding, but not really in contradiction, it is stated that unlike the possession of material goods, where there is variation according to needs between being content with much or with just a little, there is no such variation over the possession of the religion: one either disposes of it wholly or not at all. This seems to be the sense of **175-176**. With regard to both kinds of possession, that of material things and that of the soul, it is impossible to possess something just "moderately" **(174)**.

The passage **266** speaks more highly of the consideration of "religion" than of that of the scriptures, but its precise intention is not clear. It would certainly not seem right to conclude from it that personal religion is more important than the traditionally formulated one. The thrust of the passsage seems rather to be that it is more wholesome to cultivate one's "religion", in the sense of one's religious attitude and actions, than to concentrate on mere recitation of the scriptures. As regards the relationship between "religion" (*dēn*) and the sacred word, one both finds them forming a pair of contrasting notions **(E45d)** and mentioned as being interconnected and non-contradictory **(324)**. The latter occurrence, not less than the former, leads one to think that

the two notions were not always considered as being harmonious and devoid of inner conflicts. In one passage the scripture is described as a wall protecting the religion, the farthest out among seven such walls (215). Here too "religion" carries more weight, while the scripture and its interpretation (Zand) are considered as a protection around it. Probably a similar idea, though with a different simile, is expressed by stating that "the sea of religion is the sacred word" (259).

From knowledge of the religion, through the recitation of the sacred word and several other steps, one ultimately achieves the goal: immortality, the Renovation and the Resurrection (C75). It seems possible to conclude from here, and from similar passages, that the scriptures, their knowledge and frequent recitation, are an important means for manifesting and for realizing the "religion", *dēn*, as well as for protecting it. Knowledge of the whole Avesta and Zand is not sufficient to make one a priest (E45c), but this knowledge is highly extolled in many passages (e.g., E38e, D3, D5, D10).

From a number of sayings it seems possible to conclude that propagation of the knowledge of the scriptures, but particularly of the Zand, of the exegesis to the Avesta done in the current language, was to be somewhat restricted (254). The reason for this lies almost certainly in the dangers of heresy inherent in indiscriminate publication of the methods, style and contents of the Zand; the exegesis was the way by which different doctrines, which sought official Zoroastrian sanction, tried to gain admission as valid presentations of the scripture (C26-C28). One has frequent warnings to be careful about Zand and particularly about the persons one teaches it to. We have also injunctions about not teaching the Avesta to all, though this restriction is less forceful in the texts than the one which refers to Zand. The point of such restrictions is more easily understood when it is recalled that the texts were mostly studied orally (even though a written text of the Avesta may well have existed in the Sasanian period in a very limited number of copies), and that the exegesis was transmitted in all likelihood only by way of oral instruction. Being able to recite a considerable amount of Avesta and Zand must have been a proof of adherence to the group of learned priests. Sectarian propagandists, who were often people of the same group, would have tried to display their erudition in order to gain the confidence of their audience.

That the problem of heresies worried those who regarded themselves as

upholders of orthodoxy is evident from many passages in the Pahlavi literature. We have similar evidence to show that it was deemed a major problem in the management of the state, and as such it figures prominently in the manuals of politics, lost for the most part in Pahlavi, but preserved in the Arabic versions.[24]

In addition to the wariness which Sasanian authors display with regard to the propagation of heresies which might undermine the religion, one also comes across certain ambiguous utterances which seem to refer to some doctrines which are to be kept secret. The allusions are so veiled as to make it practically impossible to know whether we have here a genuine esoteric tradition or merely references to incidental doctrines which may have been marginal to the mainstream of the tradition. The terms by which this restricted part of the religion is referred to are "the word" (*wāzag*), "the secret" (*rāz*). I have elsewhere attempted[25] to connect these terms with the method of spiritualized exegesis of the religious terminology so strongly present in the *Dēnkard* and in other Pahlavi books, and have suggested, though as a guess rather than on positive evidence, that the "secret" may refer to this method of interpretation. Spiritualized, as opposed to concrete, understanding of religious truths may have been considered unwholesome to those who have not had thorough theological training. Though this theory cannot be substantiated by explicit textual references, it seems to me a reasonable explanation of the puzzling use of seemingly esoteric terminology. If this is accepted, it may be said that even though the Zoroastrian tradition may not contain an esoteric current within it, in the proper sense of the term, it nevertheless insisted on a distinction between levels of instruction according to the capacity of the individual. The higher type of instruction, reserved to relatively few people, interpreted some of the concepts of the religion in a figurative and spiritualized manner, and may have therefore been considered potentially dangerous if taught to unsophisticated members of the community.

A discussion which was vigorously conducted some time ago but seems since to have subsided concerns the question of whether the Zoroastrian books contain a layer with a pronounced ascetic tendency; this question was closely associated with that of the supposed existence in the Sasanian period

[24] Cf. my *Esoteric trends*, Appendix D (p. 214 ff.)
[25] Cf. the article referred to in the preceding note.

of a major heresy placing the figure of Zurvan "Time" as a deity in a supreme position above those of Ohrmazd and Ahreman. The prominent participants in that debate were R.C. Zaehner and M.-L Chaumont, against whom M. Molé took a critical (and to my mind correct) attitude.[26] It would not be right to go into a detailed discussion of the whole problem of Zurvanism here, but I think I should state my view that the problem of a Zurvanite variety of the Iranian religion has little or no bearing on the question of whether the Pahlavi books contain expressions of a pessimistic view of the world and recommend asceticism. There is no indication at all that Zurvanism, if it existed at all as an organized body of faith and practice (a proposition which still awaits proof), also possessed a negative view of the world. This connection is not based on any positive evidence, and there seems little need to introduce it even by way of hypothesis. Faith in Zurvan as "father" of the two major deities, who are made to be twins, seems to me to be a popular variant of the Zoroastrian myth, not sanctioned by the established clergy of the Zoroastrian religion, but at the same time not entailing the necessary assumption of the existence of a sect or anything like an organized heresy. The invention of a whole body of theology around the myth of Zurvan seems to me hardly called for. As far as we can tell, the Zurvan myth circulated in versions which are theologically naive.

The various passages adduced, from the sixth book of the *Dēnkard* and from other Zoroastrian texts, for a far-reaching negation of this world, for a blind faith in fate (which need have nothing to do with the former attitude), and for a tendency to renounce the material world in favour of the other world by way of rigorous asceticism, prove upon inspection to contain nothing of the sort. None of these ideas is really present in the Zoroastrian texts.

The best summary of the atittude of *Dēnkard* VI and of Sasanian Zoroastrianism in general concerning the things of this world is expressed by the saying: "One should not embellish the things of the material world in excess of the measure, for a man who embellishes the material world in excess of the

[26] R.C. Zaehner in his two major works, *Zurvan* and *Dawn*. M.-L. Chaumont, "Vestiges d'un courant ascétique dans le zoroastrisme sassanide d'après le VIe livre du Dēnkart", *RHR*, 156 (1959), 1-23. A criticism of Zaehner's attitude on this point was made by M. Molé, "Un ascétisme moral dans les livres pehlevis?", *RHR*, 155 (1959), 145-190.

measure becomes a destroyer of the spiritual world" **(149)**. Here and elsewhere we render *gētīg* and *mēnōg* by "material" and "spiritual" respectively, though one has to bear in mind the differences in connotation between the English terms and the Zoroastrian ones.[27] The attitude advocated here is for cultivating the things of the visible world "in meausre", so as not to infringe on one's concentration on the invisible, or spiritual world, which represents the world of religious devotion. The things of the material world should be done in time, or in a leisurely way, while the things of the spiritual world should be accomplished in haste, as if one knew one were to die the next day **(151)**. In time of need one may give up various possessions, even one's body, but never the soul **(25-26)**. A fortunate man serves the soul, an unfortunate one serves the body **(207)**. It is of benefit to the soul not to fulfil the desire of the body **(89)**, and in view of what has already been said it is clear that what is meant is that it is better not to fulfil the complete desire of the body, in excess of the measure. We are not enjoined to deprive the body of its needs.

The transience of this world is strongly emphasized **(200, 198, 199, A6, D12)**. A similar view is present in the "pragmatic" *andarz* texts too: wordly wealth is like a bird which never stops in one place (*PhlT* 65 *AdMah* §89). Yima possessed the things of the material world more completely than any one else, and even with him they diminished every day, "and his sole trust was in the soul" **(152)**.

The correct inference to be drawn from this is not that one should give up the material world altogether, but that one ought to find the right balance between the two worlds. "That man is most fortunate who mixes the transient things of this world with that which is intransient" **(180)**. This advice to "mix" the two aspects of human existence is often repeated, and one passage seems to refer to the same idea by saying that one ought to try and turn the things of the material world into one's friend **(322)**, though the expression remains obscure. The constant admonition to keep joy in one's body with as much care and fondness as one keeps a young boy **(189, E30b)** may also belong to the same heading, although the more direct connection of this theme is with the idea that Ahreman is best fought by joy and that despondency is a

[27] For an extensive treatment of these concepts I would refer to *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 59-107.

symptom of Ahreman's victory. More problematic is the allusion, repeated twice in this book, to the need to "keep one's eye on the world" (**13, 228**), which possibly indicates the desire to have a balanced relationship with the world.

Property is not shunned. If one has it, it should be enjoyed (**C32**). One of the sinners described in the book of Ardā Virāf is a person who amassed great wealth, but did not enjoy it himself and did not share it with good people (*AVn* Ch. 31). The consumption of the earthly goods is the best service which can be given to them, provided it is being done by the worthy (**88**; cf. also **142**). It is right to expect good things from the spirits (**102, 291**). If we are encouraged not to strive after the material things of this world the reason given is not that they are to be avoided, but that they are cared for by the spirits, while we should endeavour to achieve spiritual things (**291**; *Dk.* III Ch. 199).

Material success is an outcome of one's religious effort (**C67-C70, E35c**). The proper religious use of one's property includes giving it to worthy people and keeping it away from wicked people (**E23-E24** and other places). Desiring authority and wealth for the benefit and good of men is praised, and one who does it is made powerful (**156**). The treatment of good fame and social status is similar to that accorded to wealth and authority: it is a desirable thing attained through righteousness (**140, 148**), but one should not seek it for its own sake (**77, E20, E22c**).

Despite the preceding summary of positive utterances concerning various aspects of this world, with merely a warning for moderation and with a reservation concerning the right motivation and the correct use to be made of the wealth, power and fame obtained, we also come across a good number of sayings in the various Zoroastrian books in which this world is presented as something to be viewed with great suspicion. Among the chief examples in *Dēnkard* VI are the following: "A man who does not neglect this does not grasp that... 'This' is the material world and 'that' is the spiritual world" (**E22b**). It is necessary to walk about in this world as if one were barefoot in a place full of snakes, scorpions and other noxious reptiles (**B47**). The world is full of dangers, and one tries to have as little to do with them as possible.

There is a sense in which suffering in this world is beneficial from the religious point of view. Any unpleasantness borne by a person in this world is deducted from the punishment due to him in the world to come (**81, 305, 106, A5, D7b**). A degree of discomfort in this world is considered a virtue. This world is partly the domain of Ahreman, and it is better to undergo the evil of Ahreman while here, and thus diminish somewhat its sting, rather than postpone it to the next world, where it is sheer evil. At the same time one gains respect and gratitude from spiritual and material beings. This is the justification given by the two learned *ērbads* in the curious story, in which they were noticed to be carrying fire-wood from the mountain, a hard work and possibly one considered unworthy of their dignity (**D5**). Another story in the same group tells of two priests who were on their way to the court in pursuit of some affair, but they never got to the end of their journey because by chance they halted in a deserted place and learned the edifying lesson that the fiercest of demons, Āz, is best overcome by the simplest of food and drink. The edifying lesson they learnt from this experience taught them that they had nothing to seek in the centre of power, in the court, where people went to look for wealth and luxury (**D2**). There is an element of social criticism in this story, and it is more strongly felt in another anecdote told in the same collection, where two pious and learned priests, who again impressed a highly placed priest by the fact that they were engaged in manual work, spoke harshly to their visitor of the luxury in which he lived, and refused his gifts (**D3**). The chief priest seems to have received these admonitions with humility, acknowledging their truth. A symbolic story told in **D11** also points to the same moral: eating the fruit of the trees removes discontent and puts off pain.

These passages, and others like them, advocate a mode of life which uses as little luxury as possible. It would not be right to characterize this behaviour as ascetic – the rigours recommended do not go beyond the hardship of manual work and simple food, and there is no suggestion that the enjoyment of ease and luxury is bad in itself, only the warning that excess of good things brings about greed. The term best explaining the attitude towards excess is *paymān* "the right measure". One of the passages in our book explains that there are different kinds of measures. According to that passage (**206**) there are three groups, identified with the three divisions of the Avesta – *Gāthā, Hadha Mānthra*, and *Dād*. Each one of these groups has a different way of association and separation, a different measure of possession, and a different punishment for sins committed by them. The first group, which occupies the

highest position from the point of view of religious achievement, is that of the *Gāthā*, whose measure of possession is no more than evening and morning meals; the second has as its measure anything done righteously; the third is characterized by regarding its measure of desired possession to consist of anything which one may lawfully do. The difference between the various kinds of emphasis which we notice in the text we are considering can therefore be associated with the Zoroastrian distinction between various levels of religious accomplishment.

A saying such as 229 seems to represent the more rigorous kind of right measure: "The fruit of material things is a meal. The fruit of a meal is the preservation of the body", this ultimately leads to the fruit of the future body, in the eschatological period, which is "intransient joy that always is and always will be". Relinquishing anything in the material world which is beyond the bare minimum measure, thus following the standard of the *Gāthā*, seems to underlie the passage **E22a**, which again uses the symbolic name "He Who Puts off Pain": when such people possess the material world, they abandon it, and in a seeming paradox, when they abandon it, it is still possessed by them. The same idea is expressed by another saying of the same sage, Baxt-Āfrīd, which is also phrased in a paradoxical manner **(E22d)**. The moral seems to be that one does not really lose the material world by giving it up, while one may actually lose it by being too keen on keeping it.

Poverty is especially praised, it being a way of life by which one subsists on the minimum level of material possession. Poverty undertaken voluntarily, out of devotion, is particularly good **(141)**. So good is poverty considered that the poor must be warned not to regard the wealthy with contempt **(147, 143)**. The rich are equally warned not to regard the poor with contempt, a grave sin **(281)**. The rich should not be regarded as devoid of goodness merely because they are rich, and the poor should not be regarded as virtuous only by reason of their poverty **(71, 282, C23-C24)**, and the reality behind these warnings seems obvious. A long passage, **304**, describes poverty as one of those things whch are initially hard and unpleasant to bear, but the benefit of which is ultimately great. The same set of ideas concerning poverty is present in other Pahlavi *andarz* texts too.[28]

[28] Cf. *PhlT* 73.12-14; 81 (§3) (where possessing wealth is also presented as a position which can lead to virtue).

Poverty is a special privilege, which not every one can undertake **(141)**. This last saying is the beginning of a whole group, a small treatise of *andarz*, all devoted to poverty **(141-148)**, and enumerating the virtues as well as the vices of the poor, compared to those of the rich. The two main defects of the poor are to treat the wealthy with contempt, and thus not teach them what they need to know in matters of the soul, and the other, to complain of their own situation **(146)**. "The poor" as a category tend to be confused with "the good", those who should teach virtues to others. They have power to bless other people.[29] The term "poor" can be used metaphorically, since it indicates something blessed or holy,as in **A3**: "Every person has at (his) root a poor one for keeping. That poor one is his own soul". This is reminiscent of another saying **(237)**, where the soul is referred to as a god. These associations of the term "poor" which imply a certain sanctity and spiritual force are connected with a tradition which invested such a meaning on the term already in the language of the Avesta, and which continued down into the Islamic period under the form *darvish*; in the Islamic period this became part of the Judaeo-Christian tradition which also provided antecedents in the same sense.[30] Pahlavi distinguishes between the good term for poverty, *driyōšīh*, and the bad term, *škōhīh*.[31]

It is on this background that we should understand the epithet accorded to certain distinguished groups of people, notably the judges of the province of Fars, as well as of other districts, "intercessor for the poor".[32]

To conclude this discussion of poverty in our book and in other pious

[29] Cf. *DkM* 791.22-792.2 (missing in B). West's rendering, *SBE*, 37, p. 180 (*Dk* IX, ch. VII, 10), seems to me inadequate. The whole passage should be translated, I believe: "This, too: the food which you eat, this (*ēd*) [should be eaten] in a worthy manner, so that what you have eaten should become light, not heavy. That is (*ēd ku*) when you eat do good deeds and abstain from sin, so that what you have eaten [should be] eternally joyful. That is, share it with the poor, and the poor will bless you. A poor man whose law is righteous, his blessing is best".

[30] Cf. K. Barr, "Avestan *drəgu-*, *dri-ɣu-*", *Studia Orientalia I. Pedersen. . .dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 21-40, and the remarks by J. de Menasce, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 282-287.

[31] Cf. the contrast between **143** and **145**.

[32] Cf. Menasce, in the article quoted above (note 30), as well as Shaked, *Mon. Nyberg*, II, 213 ff.; Gignoux, *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses*, t. 83 (1974-75), 234; *Studia Iranica*, 5 (1976), 305.

books in Pahlavi, it may be of interest to note that in the pragmatic *andarz* books poverty occurs as a condition which is not at all desirable. Thus the wisdom attributed to Ošnar says: "And one thing which is evil, which is the hardest of all evil, and which is impossible to hide, is poverty".[33] The same collection of wisdom sayings contains also some sentences with a favorable attitude towards poverty.[34]

The notion of the right measure (*paymān*) has already been mentioned. Sin is defined as excess or deficiency, good works as keeping the right measure. "Religion is the (right) measure" (38-39). The idea is repeated several times in this and in other books in Pahlavi. Although we would associate the idea of the right mean with Greek thought,[35] it is considered in the Sasanian texts to be a typically Iranian idea:

> Iran has always praised the measure and criticised excess and deficiency. In Byzantium the philosophers have been mostly praised, in India the knowers, in other places the cognizant have been mostly praised, those from whom skill of speech is manifest. The Kingdom of Iran has approved of people with insight (*DkM* 429.11-15; B 335).[36]

The question whether the idea of *paymān* is originally Iranian or a borrowing from the west is somewhat complex. There can be little doubt that there was an Aristotelian influence in the formation of the Iranian ideas around the concept of the right measure; at the same time it seems a strong possibility that there existed an Iranian idea with a similar meaning which may have co-existed alongside the Greek philosophical formulation, and was perhaps blended together with it. This can best be seen in the examination of various lists of virtues and vices. As was already mentioned, a virtue is defined as *paymān*, and vices are by definition excesses or deficiencies. Such lists arrange virtues and vices in such a way that the virtue is found in the middle, and the vices on both extremes. This is of course the well-known Aristotelian scheme. But there also exist a type of list for which no clear western antecedent is known. This is a list which is based on the division of both virtues and vices

[33] *Ošnar* §6; "evil" (*anāgīh*) should be understood here in the sense of hardship, rather than that of moral evil. Further sayings critical of poverty in *Ošnar* are §16, 19.

[34] *Ošnar* §17, 49. The text of the latter passage is given in C82. 2.

[35] Cf. Menasce, *Apologétique*, 30 f., and *Encyclopédie*, 54; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 251 ff.

[36] A slightly different translation in Bailey, *ZorPr*, 86; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 252 and note 2.

into two groups: "forward-inclined" (*frāz-āhangīg*) and "backward-inclined" (*abāz-āhangīg*). The former type indicates qualities of energy, initiative and activity, both good and bad, and the latter groups together qualities of restraint and withdrawal. A wise man has virtues of both types in the right measure (*paymānīhā*), allotted to him by the Creator. There are also two types of time, ascendance and depression (*abrāz, nišēb*), the first one generally requiring forward-inclined virtues, the other backward-inclined ones, though there are exceptions according to occasions and people (*hangāmīgā ud kasīhā*). On these lines there are two lists of virtues, each followed by its corresponding excess. The two lists are carefully correlated, so that by combining them we may get a list with four parallel columns, two for the two types of virtue, and two for their corresponding excesses on either side. In such a way we obtain not a single mean, occupying the centre between two extremes, but two middle qualities, both positive, each one with its own exaggeration. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, this type of scheme, which is represented by a number of texts in the third book of the *Dēnkard*, as well as by our passage **B14** and what follows, may be regarded as either originally Iranian, or as an Iranian development of the Aristotelian scheme, perhaps by incorporating into it the traditional Iranian notions.[37]

Alongside such elaborate lists, which evidently follow some philosophical formulation, although they probably give it a local shape, we also find lists of virtues and vices which are very clearly traditional, and completely innocent of philosophical interference. Such is the list in Chapter 203 of *Dēnkard* III, or in the *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*.[38]

A point which deserves mention in this book, and in related Pahlavi texts, is their attitude towards the question of the freedom of the will. This again has been incorrectly tied up with other issues which have nothing to do with it, namely the problem of Zurvanism.

Fate (*bαxt, brēh, brihēnišn, zamān*) is an ambiguous concept in the Zoroastrian texts. It indicates both divine predestination, and that element which is outside of human control and which is also outside of the determined order of things, which comes about unexpectedly, sometimes perhaps arbitrarily,

[37] A fuller discussion of some problems connected with these lists is reserved for another occasion.

[38] Cf. a discussion of various lists in Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 37 ff.

and affects human destinies. It is also often indicated by the precise term *jahišn* – that which springs, which comes about by a quirk, from the verb *jastan* "to jump". The classical epitome of the Zoroastrian attitude on fate is *gētīg pad baxt, mēnōg pad kunišn* (*PhlVd* 5.9)[39] "The material world is (governed) by fate, the spiritual world by action". The second term, "action", denotes human capacity and endeavour.

This division between fate and human action is however much too simple to account for the Zoroastrian view of the world. A more detailed account is given in **D1a**, where under five headings twenty five functions are enumerated. The five groups are fate (*brēh*), action, habit, substance and heritage. Under fate we have: living, wife, children, authority and wealth – that is, what one manages to acquire in one's lifetime, including the length of one's own life. Matters relating to the way one discharges one's religious and social duties in life are relegated to "action". The other functions are both outside the scope of human freedom, and also outside the scope of the intervention of fate: these are the natural functions ("habit"), qualities of character ("substance"), and qualities of intellectual capacity and bodily appearance ("heritage"). A large portion of what constitutes human existence is not subject to voluntary action or even to fortune: it is fixed and determined. What may change are those things which belong to either of the two categories, "fate" and "action". The division between them is indeed strongly reminiscent of the distinction between "the material world" and "the spiritual world"

[39] Cf., in the same vein, *DkM* 284.13 ff., quoted by Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 407, and Shaki, *ArOr*, 41 (1973), 16. Cf. Menasce, *Troisième livre*, 271. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 406, quotes a passage which seems to him to represent exactly the opposite point of view, though I doubt whether this is correct. The text reads as follows: *baxt-šān abar hān ī brīhēnīdārīh pad kunišn, ud kunišn abar hān ī kerdārān, brīn-ez andar mēnōgān, gētīgīg xwad *ēw wizēd. hamīhā guft baxt abar hān ī az mēnōgān, kunišn abar hān ī az gētīgān* (*DkM* 416. 22-417.4; B 325.7-10) "Fate, according to them, (applies) to that which has been decreed for doing, and action (applies) to that which those who act (do). Even that which is decreed among the spirits, an earthly being should choose by himself. In sum it has been said: Fate (applies) to that which (comes) from the spirits, action to that which (comes) from earthly beings". The gist of this passage seems to be that a decree of fate applies to that which comes from the world of *mēnōg*, while people, creatures of *gētīg*, can only act by the principle of free choice, which is termed "action". The distinction is thus based on totally different principles from those which underlie the idea of *gētīg pad baxt, mēnōg pad kunišn*, but there is no necessary contradiction between the two.

respectively, as given in the simple definition quoted first. This division is valid because so much of what appertains to human existence in the material world as well as in the spiritual world is unchangeable.

The way in which fate (*brēh*) affects people is described in the following terms: "When fate helps that slothful, ignorant and bad man, his sloth becomes like diligence, his ignorance becomes like wisdom, and his badness becomes like goodness. When fate opposes that wise, capable and good man, his wisdom turns to lack of knowledge and foolishness, his capacity turns into ignorance. (His) knowledge, skill and capacity are manifest as weak" (*MX* 51).[40] There is a difference between the two parts of the passage, which does not seem to be fortuitous: the effect of fate on the negative qualities of the first man makes them to be "like" their opposites; the effect of fate on the positive qualities of the second man turns them into their opposites – but goodness is not mentioned as part of those qualities which change. That sloth becomes like diligence evidently means that even without doing much a slothful man may find himself achieving beneficial results by the decree of *brēh*, while a wise and capable man may find that he has lost his wisdom and capacity. The same basic idea is repeated in various formulations in other texts. "For every thing which has been decreed by fate an occasion comes about concerning it, which pushes aside all other things" (*MX* 53.8-9). The relationship between fate and action is described elsewhere in the following terms: "fate and action together resemble body and soul. For a body without a soul is an inactive shape, and a soul without a body is a wind which cannot be grasped, and when they are mixed together they are powerful and greatly beneficent" (*PhlT* 94 *AW* §105-107).[41] The relationship is more accurately defined as follows: "Fate is the reason (*cim*) and action is the occasion (*wahānag*) of that which comes to man" (*PhlT* 94 *AW* 108-109).[42] To use the

[40] Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 258, 403 f.

[41] Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 404 f.

[42] The Arabic version reads: *al-qadar 'illatu mā huwa kā'in wa-l-'amal 'illatu mā lam yakun* (Misk., *JX*, 33) "Fate is the cause of that which exists, action the cause of that which does not exist", which is not very appropriate. A closer rendering of the same idea occurs elsewhere in an Arabic version: *wa-l-tawfīq wa-l-ijtihād zawj fa-l-ijtihād sababu l-tawfīq wa-l-tawfīq sababu najaḥi l-ijtihād* (Misk., *JX*, 77.4 f.) "Fate and effort are a couple. Effort is the cause (or "occasion") of fate, and fate is the cause (or "occasion") of the success of effort."

preceding example for interpreting this saying, we may say that if fate has thus decreed, a slothful person may act in such a way that he is seemingly diligent, and his action may provide an occasion for the decree of fate to be effective. The same kind of relation between fate and action is evident in another instance: "It is not possible to appropriate a good thing which has not been decreed, but one which has been decreed will soon come through diligence" (*MX* 22).[43] Both fate and action are necessary. The two are complementary, and the metaphor used is that of the two bales on the back of a mule.[44]

It has been necessary to discuss the problem of fate at some length, since it has often been adduced in the argument in favour of extensive Zurvanism in Pahlavi, which can allegedly be recognized by its far-reaching fatalism. It has been claimed that some passages concerning fate in Pahlavi are unorthodox. Therefore, the argument says, they are vestiges reflecting an attitude suppressed elsewhere in the Zoroastrian books.[45] It can, however, be shown, I believe, that the Pahlavi books contain no trace of unorthodox fatalism, and that the utterances concerning fate fall quite harmoniously together. The ghost of this heresy can be safely removed. It is clear of course that some Pahlavi books are much more interested in fate than others, and this trend is also reflected in some compositions of the Islamic period, such as the *Shāh-Nāma*. There is however no solid reason to label these works as heterodox.

IV. The Text of Dēnkard VI and the Present Edition

The text of the *Dēnkard* has been published in its entirety in Pahlavi characters twice: once by Sanjana, father and son,[1] and once by Madan.[2] To facilitate reference to these editions, the volume numbers of *DkS* are indicated in the present edition (as well as the paragraph numbers, which are borrowed from that edition, with some modifications). The page numbers of *DkM*, which is often quoted, are also given in square brackets.

The two basic manuscripts of *Dk* VI can now be conveniently used in facsimile editions. The Bombay manuscript, which is the only nearly complete

[43] Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 402.
[44] Tansar p. 45; Boyce's translation, p. 68. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 405.
[45] This was the position of Zaehner who followed and developed (in a somewhat exaggerated manner) the analysis of Nybeg, *JA*, 219 (1931), 61 ff.
[1] *DkS*: cf. the Bibliography for full details.
[2] *DkM*.

manuscript of the whole of the extant *Dēnkard*, has been published by M.J. Dresden,[3] and the Copenhagen manuscript which contains *Dk* VI was published in facsimile as part of the series of volumes from the Copenhagen library done by A. Christensen.[4] A third manuscript, designated by the siglum DP, is described and used by Sanjana in his edition,[5] but I have been unable to obtain a photocopy of it and have had to rely on the variants as given by Sanjana; his indications are not always unambiguous, and judging by the variants of the other manuscripts given by him, they are apparently also not entirely accurate (though on the whole fairly reliable). The beginnings of pages in B and K are given in square brackets in our edition.

K seems on the whole a much better manuscript than either B or DP, and its readings have been preferred for the most part, except when they obviously constituted a mistake. K and B are closely related to each other, and seem to depend on the same source. In **274** both K and B share a dittography:

mardom ī ne pad dēn dēn ī yazdan ēstēnd. . .

The dittography may be explained as a gloss *dēn ī yazdān* on *dēn*. DP has only one *dēn*, but this may be explained as a subsequent scribe's correction in DP. This is not the only case of this kind in DP.[6] Similar instances which show the close connection of B and K can be given. In **102** we have in both MSS **XNA** = *ēd* corrupted into **xw'p**. In **319** all three manuscripts agree on the reading *a-wināhīh ud huniyāgīh*. The two words resemble each other in writing, and it is quite clear that the first word is a mistake (not repeated in the same phrase in the second part of the section), probably first written thus in the manuscript which may have served as the common source to all three extant manuscripts, and then rewritten correctly immediatley afterwards. It seems possible that K, B, and DP all go back to the same source. It seems unlikely that B is a copy of K, as B is a complete manuscript of *Dk*, while K has only Book VI.

Apart from the manuscripts that contain the text of *Dk* VI, we also have fragments of the text which are somewhat helpful for establishing the readings. A selection from *Dk* VI occurs in *Dd*; Ms. M 51 has been used for the

[3] *B facs.*
[4] Ms K.
[5] From *DkS* XII onwards.
[6] Cf. variants in **305** (note 7, perhaps also note 8), **306** (notes 1, 2).

collation.[7] Another selection is found in *ŠnŠ*.[8] NPers. versions of some passages from *Dk* VI exist in the Munich manuscripts M 55 and M 52.[9] Other versions exist in the *Persian Rivayat*[10] and some versified versions exist in M55.[11] A few scattered passages exist in Arabic versions, mainly in Miskawayhi's *Jāwīdān Xirad*.[12]

The present edition endeavours to give in transcription a reading which would approximately reflect early Sasanian Middle Persian in so far as it can be reconstructed from the Manichean texts and by deduction from the archaising system of spelling used in the Middle Persian inscriptions as well as from loan-words, especially in Syriac and Babylonian Aramaic.[13] As the text of *Dk* VI is readily available in Pahlavi characters, it has not seemed necessary to note in each case the spelling of individual words or to record common variants in spelling (such as *mazdēsnān* when it is spelled with a -t- instead of -n-). Only such variants as may be of consequence for the reading or interpretation of the text have as a rule been noted. Pahlavi scribes are notoriously careless with such particles as **W** or **Y**, although their absence or presence is apt to make a considerable difference to the sense of the sentence. Allusion to these variants has for the most part been avoided, as they are usually noted in Sanjana's edition, and a full enumeration would have made the apparatus too cumbersome. I am afraid I have not been entirely consistent in noting departure from the manuscripts where *ud* and *iẓāfa* are concerned, and the reader would be advised to check in the facsimiles whenever this may make a difference. References to a wrong (or different) division of words are also only partly given.

Transliteration is sparsely used; it is employed only in cases when the transcription is insufficient, and is confined in principle to the notes. It is distin-

[7] As well as K 35. On the quotations from *Dk* VI in chapter XCIV of *Dd* cf. West, *SBE* XVIII, p. 269, note 3.

[8] *SupT ŠnŠ* XX; West, *SBE* V, 393 ff. Cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 71 f.

[9] Cf Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 82 f., 270 ff.

[10] Scattered notes on these quotations can be found in B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*, Bombay 1932.

[11] In the section 1 h. 3 (*Zendhdschr.*, p. 180 f.), unnoticed by Bartholomae.

[12] Referred to in the notes to the text.

[13] Cf. W.B. Henning, *Mirisch.*, 120 ff., and MacKenzie, quoted in the next note. This is basically the system of transcription preferred by scholars of the school of F.C. Andreas, and has been followed by several recent editions of texts.

guished from the transciption by being printed in boldface type. In the system used I have been influenced by D.N. MacKenzie,[14] though with some modifications in favour of conservatism. The main features of the system employed here are: a distinction between ideographic *aleph* (rendered **A**) and *aleph* in Iranian words (rendered '); *'ayin* (which occurs only in ideograms) is always given '; *heh* is rendered by **H**, whereas *ḥeth* is rendered by **X**, **x**. In other matters the system is standard. The general aim of the transliteration has been to give an idea of what is written in the original, interpreting it wherever possible, while aiming at economy in conventional signs; it is no use pretending, I believe, that a transliteration can replace the original in Pahlavi.

[14] "Notes on the transcription of Pahlavi", *BSOAS*, 30 (1967), 17-29.

Abbreviations

Common abbreviations of periodicals are not noted.

ADān	*Andarz ī dānāgān ō mazdēsnān*, in: *PhlT* 51-54.
AdMah	*Andarz ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, in: *PhlT* 58-71.
APēš	*Andarzīhā ī pēšēnīgān*, in: *PhlT* 39-40.
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
Av.	Avesta; Avestan
AVn	*Ardā Virāf* (or *Virāz*) *nāmag*, quoted from: M. Haug and E.W. West, *The book of Arda Viraf*, Bombay-London 1872.
AW	*Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*, in: *PhlT* 85-101 (quoted from a typescript edition of the text, to be published shortly).
AXus	*Andarz ī Xusrō ī Kawādān*, in: *PhlT* 55-57.
AZām	*Andarz ī Zāmāspīg*, quoted from: Giuseppe Messina S.I., *Libro apocalittico persiano – Ayātkār i Žamāspīk*, Rome 1939 [Biblica et Orientalia 9].
B	Cf. *Dk*
B facs.	Cf. *Dk*
Bailey, *ZorPr*	H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford 1943 [Ratanbai Katrak Lectures].
B.M. Pentateuch	Herbert H. Paper (ed.), *A Judeo-Persian Pentateuch*. The text of the oldest Judeo-Persian Pentateuch translation, British Museum Ms. Or. 5446. Jerusalem 1972.
Boyce, *Man. Hymn-cycles*	M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-cycles in Parthian* [London Oriental Series 3], London 1954.
BQ	Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf Tabrīzī, *Burhān-i Qāṭi'*, ed. by Muḥammad Mu'īn, 5 vols., Tehran 1963.
Bthl.	Christian Bartholomae
Bthl., *AirWb*	–, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904 (Reprint, Berlin 1961).
Bthl., *ZAirWb*	–, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch – Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*, Strassburg 1906 [Beiheft zum XIX. Band der *Indogermanischen Forschungen*].
Bthl., *ZKMirMund*	–, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, I-VI, Heidelberg 1916-1925 [Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften].
Bthl., *ZSR*	–, *Zum sassanidischen Recht*, I-V, Heidelberg 1918-1923.
Christensen, *Iran*	A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2e éd., Copenhagen 1940.
DA	*Draxt asūrīg*, in: *PhlT* 109-114.
Darmesteter, *ZA*	*Le Zend-Avesta*, Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique par James Darmesteter. (Annales du Musée Guimet.) 3 vols. Reproduction photographique de l'édition 1892-93, Paris 1960.
Dd	*Dādestān ī dēnīg; pursišn* I-XL, quoted from: Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (ed.), *The Datistan-i Dinik*, Part I, Bombay [n.d.] (printed but not published). *pursišn* XLI-XCIV, quoted from K 35.
Dhabhar, *Essays*	Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar, *Essays on Iranian subjects*, Bombay 1955.
Dhabhar, *PhlY & Vr*	–, ed., *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad*, Bombay 1949.
Dk	*Dēnkard*
Dk III	*Dk* Book III, quoted by chapter according to the numbering of *DkS* (cf. list in Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 81 ff.).
Dk VI	*Dk* Book VI, quoted by section number as used in this book.
Dk VII	*Dk* Book VII, quoted by chapter and section divisions as used by E.W. West, *SBE* XLVII, and Molé, *Légende*.
Dk IX	*Dk* Book IX, quoted by chapter and section divisions as used by E.W. West, *SBE* XXXVII.
Dk B (or *B facs.*)	M.J. Dresden (ed.), *Dēnkard – A Pahlavi text*. Facsimile edition of the manuscript B of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay, Wiesbaden 1966. Quoted by the page numbers which run in the book from right to left and which are in the book enclosed in square brackets. The brackets are here omitted.
DkM	Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan (ed.), *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, I-II, Bombay 1911. Quoted by page, sometimes followed by line numbers.

DkS P.B. (succeeded by D.P.) Sanjana (also spelled Sunjana), (eds.), *The Dinkard*, 19 vols., Bombay 1874-1928.

Driver, *Aram. Doc.* G.R. Driver, *Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford 1957.

Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion* J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962 ["Mana", Introduction à l'histoire des religions – 1, III].

Esoteric trends Cf. Shaked

FrPhl Heinrich F.J. Junker, *The Farhang-i Pahlavik*, Heidelberg 1912.

GBd *Greater Bundahišn*; quoted from: Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (ed.), *The Bûndahishn*, Bombay 1908 (facsimile of MS TD_2).

GBd MS DH *The Codex DH, Being a facsimile edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht, and part of Denkard*, [Teheran, n.d.] (Iranian Culture Foundation 89).

GBd MS TD_1 *The Bondahesh, Being a facsimile edition of the manuscript* TD_1, [Teheran, n.d.] (Iranian Culture Foundation 88). Cf. also *Zand-ākāsīh*

Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥāt* Muḥammad b. Muḥ. al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, Tehran 1351 H.

Gignoux, *Glossaire* Philippe Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, I).

GIPh W. Geiger and E. Kuhn (eds.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I-II, Strassburg 1895-1904.

Gloss. MX Aḥmad Tafazzoli, *Glossary of Mēnōg ī Xrad*, Tehran 1969 (Iranian Culture Foundation 63).

Henning, *BBB* W.B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* [Abhandl. der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrg. 1936, Nr. 10], Berlin 1937.

Henning Mem. Vol. *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970.

Henning, *Mirisch.* W.B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch", in: *Hanbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Band: Iranistik, 1. Abschnitt: Linguistik, Leiden-Köln 1958, 20-130.

Henning, *Sogdica* –, *Sogdica* [James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXI, The Royal Asaitic Society], London 1940.

Henning, "Verbum" –, "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfan-fragmente," *ZII*, 9 (1933), 158-253.

Horn, *Grund. d. neup. Etym.* P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893.

IOS *Israel Oriental Studies* (Tel Aviv University)

J. Cama Or. Inst. Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.

JN *Jāmāsp Nāmag = AZām*

K *The Pahlavi codex K43, first part.* Published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by Arthur Christensen [Codices Avestici et pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis; Vol. V], Copenhagen 1936, fols. 177 ff.

Khareghat Mem. Vol. *M.P. Khareghat Memorial Volume*, I, Bombay 1953.

Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.* G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963.

Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras* H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras, nach dem Awesta dargestellt*, Tübingen 1930.

Luγat Nāma 'Alī Akbar Dehxodā, *Luγat Nāma*. Tehran 1325 H.

MacKenzie, *Phl. Dict.* D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971.

Mayrhofer, *Kurzg. etym. Wb. d. Altind.* Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg 1956-1976.

Mém. de Menasce *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, édité par Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli, Louvain 1974 [Fondation Culturelle Iranienne 185].

Menasce, *Apologétique* Jean Pierre de Menasce O.P., *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IXe siècle – Škand-Gumānīk Vičār, La solution décisive des doutes*, Friboug en Suisse 1945 [Collectanea Friburgensia N.S. XXX].

Menasce, *Encyclopédie* –, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne – Le Dēnkart*, Paris 1958 [Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuse LXIX].

Menasce, *Troisième livre* *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, traduit du pehlevi par J. de Menasce O.P., Paris 1973 [Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris III, 5; Bibliothèque des Oeuvres Classiques Persanes, 4].

MHD *Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dâdîstân*, a photozincographed facsimile, [ed. by] J.J. Modi, Bombay 1901.

Mir Man	F.C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I-III, Berlin 1932-1934 [Sitzungsb. d. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1932-1934].
Misk., *JX*	Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Miskawayh, *Al-hikma al-Xālida: Jāwīdān Xirad*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1952.
Molé, *Culte*	Marijan Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien – Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*, Paris 1963 [Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes LXIX].
Molé, *Légende*	–, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis*, Paris 1967 [Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes iraniennes de l'Université de Paris 3].
Mon. Nyberg	*Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, Acta Iranica, I-II, Leiden-Teheran-Liège 1975.
MPers.	Middle Persian
MPT	Middle Persian of the Turfan texts, Manichean Middle Persian
MX	*Mēnōg ī Xrad*, quoted from: T.D. Anklesaria (ed.), *Dânâk-u Mainyô-î Khard*, Bombay 1913, with chapters (= *pursišn*) and sections according to this edition.
Nir. Facs.	D.P. Sanjana (ed.), *Nirangistan, a photozincographed facsimile*, Bombay 1894.
NPers.	New Persian
Hyberg, *Hlfsb.*	H.S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, I-II, Uppsala 1928-1931.
Ošnar	B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *Andarj-i Aōshnar-i Dānāk*, bombay 1930 (Pahlavi Text Series 4).
Pāz.	Pāzand
PāzT	Edalji Kersâspji Antiâ (ed.), *Pâzend texts*, Bombay 1909.
PersRiv Hormazyar	M.R. Unvâlâ (ed.), *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat*, I-II, Bombay 1922. B.N. Dhabhar (trsl.), *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, Bombay 1932.
Phl.	Pahlavi
PhlT	J.M. Jamasp-Asana (ed.), *The Pahlavi texts contained in the codex MX. . .*, I-II, Bombay 1897-1913.
PhlVd	Hoshang Jamasp (ed.), *Vendidâd – Avesta text with Pahlavi translation*, I-II, Bombay 1907.
PhlY	Phl. *Yasna*, quoted from Dhabhar, *PhlY & Vr.*
PN	*Pand-nāmag ī zardušt* (= *Cīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*), in: *PhlT* 41-50.
PRiv Dd	B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *The Pahlavi rivâyat accompanying the Dâdistân-î Dînîk*, Bombay 1913.
Pth.	Parthian
Pursišnīhā	K.M. Jamaspasa and H. Humbach (eds. and trsls.), *Pursišnīhā – A Zoroastrian Catechism*, I-II, Wiesbaden 1971.
REA	B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Rivâyat-î Hêmît-î Ašavahištân*, Bombay 1962.
Salemann, *MSt*	Carl Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien*, I [Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIIIe Série, Classe hist.-philol., vol. VIII, No. 10], St. Petersburg 1908.
SBE	F. Max Müller (ed.), *The Sacred Books of the East*. Vols. V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, XLVII constitute *Pahlavi texts* I-V, translated by E.W. West.
Scholem Festschrift	*Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967.
Schulgespräch	*Xwēškārīh ī rēdag*an, edited by A. Freiman, "Andarz i Kôtakân", *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1918, 482-489. Heinrich F.J. Junker, "Ein mittelpersisches Schulgespräch", *Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Jahrg. 1912, 15. Abhandlung, Heidelberg 1912.
ŠGV	Hôshang Jâmâspjî Jâmâsp Asânâ and E. W. West (eds.), *Shikand-Fûmânîk Vijâr, The Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Neryosang*, Bombay 1887. See also Menasce, *Apologétique*.
Shaked, *Esoteric Trends*	S. Shaked, *Esoteric trends in Zoroastrianism, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, III, Jerusalem, 1969, 175-221.
ŠnŠ	J.C. Tavadia (ed.), *Šāyast-nē-Šāyast – A Pahlavi text on religious customs*, Hamburg 1930.
SupT ŠnŠ	Firoze M.P. Kotwal (ed.), *The supplementary texts to the Šāyest nē-Šāyest*, Copenhagen 1969.

Tansar	*Tansar's Epistle to Goshnasp*, Persian text edited by Mojtabā Minovi, Tehran 1932.
	The letter of Tansar, translated by M. Boyce, Rome 1968 [Literary and historical texts from Iran 1].
Tavadia, *Mpers. Spr. u. Lit.*	Jehangir C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier*, Leipzig 1956.
Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*	Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. I. Keilani, Damascus [1964], I-IV.
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
Unvala Mem. Vol.	*Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1964.
Vd	*Vendidad*
Vr	*Visperad*
WāzAd	*Wāzag ēcand ī Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, in: *PhlT* 144-153.
Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*	Geo Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala 1938.
Widengren, *Iran. Geisteswelt*	–, *Iranische geisteswelt von den Anfängen bis zum Islam*, Baden-Baden 1961.
Widengren, *Religionen*	–, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965.
Wissb. Sohn	Heinrich F.J. Junker (ed.), *Der Wissbegierige Sohn – Ein mittelpersischer Text über das Kustīk*, Leipzig 1959.
Wizīrīhā	*Wizīrīhā ī dēn ī weh ī mazdēsnān*, in: K.M. Jamaspasa, "The Pahlavi text of *Vicīrīhā i dēn i vēh i Mazdayasnān*", *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 201-218.
Xēm ud xrad	*Abar xēm ud xrad ī farrox mard*, *PhlT* 162-167.
Y	*Yasna*
Yt.	*Yašt*
Zaehner, *Dawn*	R.C. Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961.
Zaehner, *Magi*	–, *The teachings of the Magi – A compendium of Zoroastrian beliefs*, London 1956.
Zaehner, *Zurvan*	–, *Zurvan – A Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1955.
Zand-ākāsīh	B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Zand-ākāsīh – Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, Bombay 1956.
ZII	*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.*
Zs	B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam*, I, Bombay 1964.
ZWY	B.T. Anklesaria (ed.), *Zand-ī Vohûman Yasn and two Pahlavi fragments*, Bombay 1957.

ZXA	B.N. Dhabhar (ed.), *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, Bombay 1927.
	Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk, by B.N. Dhabar, Bombay 1963.

SYMBOLS USED

( )	In an edition of text: to be omitted
	In a translation: translator's explanatory addition
[ ]	Conjectural addition to the text
(( ))	A gloss found in the text
*	Corrected reading, conjectural
	In a translation: conjectural meaning
+	Corrected reading on the basis of manuscript variants, against the printed edition.

Text and Translation

Opening Section

a [*K177r; B367; M73; S vol. X*] (pad nām ī yazd[1]) šnāyišn ī dādār ohrmazd, *frāz āfrīgānīh[2] ī dēn ī mazdēsnān-ez ud pōryōtkēšān dād.

b kerdag[3] ī 6-om abar nihang-ē az pōryōtkēšān kard ud dāšt wābar[4] gōwišn ī dēn ī mazdēsn.

1a* pōryōtkēšān ī dānāgān[1] pēšēnīgān a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān[2] andar ox menišn-ē, ast yazd-ē gāh dārēd ud ast druz-ē rāh dārēd. ud andar menišn gōwišn-ē, ast yazd-ē gāh dārēd ud ast druz-ē rāh dārēd. ud andar[3] gōwišn[4] kunišn-ē, ast yazd-ē gāh dārēd[5] ud ast druz-ē rāh dārēd.

1b* ud andar ox warom-ē,[1] wahman gāh dārēd [*K177v*] ud akōman rāh dārēd. ud andar wārom kāmag-ē, srōš gāh dārēd ud xešm rāh dārēd. ud andar kāmag[2] menišn-ē, spandarmad gāh dārēd[3] ud druz ī tarōmad rāh dārēd. ud andar menišn gōwišn-ē, xrad gāh dārēd ud waran rāh dārēd. ud andar gōwišn kunišn-ē, dēn[4] gāh dārēd ud xwad-dōšagīh rāh dārēd.

1c*[1] ud druz[2] kōšišn abāg[3] mardomān pad[4] ēn and[5] rāh ud widarg, ud ke pad[6] ēn and[7] rāh ud widarg buxt az harw gyāg buxt, ud ke anōh frēft ēg[8] ō dast ī druz[9] rasēd ud az hān frāz xwad[10] ne[11] pādexšāy be ka hān kunēd ī-š druz[12] framāyēnd.[13] ud amāh[14] mardomān[15] hušyār bawišn ku tā az hān ī yazdān[16] rāh[17] be ne[18] ēstēm ud az pas ī[19] druzān ne šawēm.

Op. Sec. [1]*pad nām ī yazd*: B om. [2]B **'plyk'nyx** [3]MSS have the division mark here. [4]MSS have the division mark here.

1a *Also found in K35 fol. 201r (Dd, *pursišn* 94) and in *Wizīrīhā. . ., Henning Mem. Vol.*, 204 §6, 107 f. [1]Dd *dēn-āgāhān* [2]*ku mardomān*: Dd om. [3]Dd + *ox*, then om. from here to **1b** (*ud andar kāmag*) *menišn-ē* (cf. **1b**, n. 2) [4]B *menišn* [5]B om.

1b *Also found in K35 fol. 201r (Dd, *pursišn* 94) [1]*-ē*: B om. [2]Dd om. up to here (cf. **1a**, n. 3) [3]K om. [4]Dd + *ī weh*

1c *Also found in K35 fol. 201r-v (Dd, *pursišn* 94) [1]The order of the two sentences in this section is inverted in Dd. [2]*ud druz*: Dd *ce* [3]Dd *ī* [4]Dd (K35) om. [5]Dd *3* [6]Dd om. [7]Dd *3* [8]Dd *be* [9]B *druzān*; Dd *dēwān ud druzān* [10]K **BNŠH'** [11]*xwad ne*: Dd (K35) *ne xwad* [12]B, Dd (K35) *druzān* [13]Dd *framāyēd* [14]Dd + *hāmōyēn* [15]Dd + *abēr* [16]*ī yazdān*: Dd om. [17]B om. [18]K om. [19]*az pas ī*: Dd *be ō rāh ī dēwān ud*

Opening Section a

(By the name of the God.)[1] Satisfaction to the Creator Ohrmazd,[2] and blessings[3] to the religion of the Mazdeans and the law of the orthodox.[4]

Opening Section b

The Sixth Book,[1] concerning a little[2] of the credible[3] sayings of the Mazdean religion done and held by the orthodox.[4]

1a[1]

The *pōryōtkēš*, that is the ancient sages,[2] held thus: In men's[3] mind[4] there is thought,[5] sometimes a god holds a throne (in it), sometimes a demon holds up the way.[6] In thought there is speech, sometimes a god holds a throne (in it), sometimes a demon holds up the way. In speech there is deed, sometimes a god holds a throne (in it), sometimes a demon holds up the way.

1b[1]

In the mind there is recollection,[2] Wahman[3] holds a throne (in it), Akōman holds up the way. In recollection there is desire,[4] Srōš[5] holds a throne (in it), Xešm holds up the way. In desire there is thought, Spandarmad[6] holds a throne (in it), the demon Tarōmad holds up the way. In thought there is speech, wisdom[7] holds a throne (in it), lust holds up the way. In speech there is deed, religion[8] holds a throne (in it), self-love holds up the way.

1c

The fight of the demons against men is done in these several ways and paths.[1] He who is saved[2] in these several ways and paths is saved from every place (of danger), and he who is deceived there comes to the hands of the demons, and from then on he has no power, except to do that which the demons command him. We men ought to be heedful so that we do not stray[3] from the way of the gods and go after the demons.

For the notes to the translation cf. 'Commentary' following the Text and Translation.

2* [*M474*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xēm-ē hān weh ke[1] hān ce[2] pad xwēš-tan[3] ne nēwag pad[4] awe[5] ī did ne kunēd. ud xrad-ē hān weh ke[6] nēwagīh ī mad ēstēd bar[7] dānēd[8] [*K178r*] xwardan ud anāgīh ī ne mad ēstēd rāy[9] wāg[10] ne barēd. ud wīr-ē[11] hān weh ke hān ce[12] ne dānēd dānēd ku ne dānēm.[13]

3* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas dōst bāš[1] u-t ēd [xēm. u-šān pad wehīh abar[2] bar u-t ēd][3] xrad.[4] u-šān pad xwēš dār[5] u-t ēd dēn. u-šān nēwagīh pad-eš kun[6] u-t ēd ruwān.

4* [*B369*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xēm hān ke kas[1] ne frēbēd, xrad hān ke xwad ne frēbēd,[2] dēn hān ke hān ce dānēd ku kirbag kunēd.[3]

5* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke[1] hān ce dānēd ku kirbag[2] ud ne[3] kunēd, hān tar-menišnīh, tar-menišnīh xēm petyārag. ud ke[4] hān ce dānēd ku wināh[5] ud[6] kunēd, hān waranīgīh, waranīgīh xrad petyārag. ud ke[7] hān ce ne dānēd ku kirbag ayāb wināh ud pēš ī[8] ō dānišn rasēd kunēd, hān[9] xwad-dōšagīh, xwad-došagīh [*K178v*] dēn petyārag.

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2 *Also found in K35 f. 210v (Dd, *pursišn* 94) and in *Wizīrīhā. . ., Henning Mem. Vol.*, 205 §8, 208. A NPers. version is in M55, M52 (fol. 129a-b) cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 172, No. 13. [1]Dd *ka* [2]*hān ce*: Dd **ZK c Y** [3]B, K om. [4]K om. [5]Dd *hān* [6]Dd *ka hān* [7]Dd + *be* [8]K repeats *dānēd* at the beginning of the next folio. [9]Dd om. [10]Dd byš. NPers. version *tars* [11]NPers. version *hūšyārī* [12]Dd *ī* [13]*dānēd ku ne dānēm*: NPers. version (*ānče na-dānad*) *bāyad ke bi-dānad va-agar na-dānad bi-pursad*

3 *Also found in K35f. 201v (= Dd, *pursišn* 94), and *Wizīrīhā. . ., Henning Mem. Vol.*, 205 §9, 209. A much distorted NPers. version is in M55, M52 (fol. 129 b), cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 172, No. 14. [1]Dd *bawišn*; B + 'ww [2]Sanjana, in quoting this passage from *Dd*, om. *abar* [3]The enclosed phrase is only in *Dd*. [4]B + *u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt* [5]*pad xwēš dār*: NPers. version *ba-x^{v}īškār* [6]K **'BYDWNd**

4 *NPers. version is in M55, M52; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 172, No. 15. [1]NPers. version + *az rāh-i rāst* [2]NPers. version *fīrīfta na-šavad* [3]NPers. version *varzad*; gloss in M52 *ixtiyār kunad*

5 *Also found in K35 f. 201v, 11.9-13 (Dd, *pursišn* 94). A variant text is in *Wizīrīhā. . ., Henning Mem. Vol.*, 205 §10, 209. [1]K, B om. [2]Dd *wināh* [3]Dd om. [4–7] *ud ke. . .ud ke*: B om. the whole section enclosed by these words. [5]Dd *kirbag* [6]Dd + *ne* [7]V. n. 4. [8]*pēš ī*: Dd *tā be*; K, B *pēš tā* [9]B om.

2

They held this too:[1] That character[2] is best, one who does not do to another that which is not good for himself.[3] That wisdom[4] is best, one who knows how to enjoy the fruit of a good thing which has come, and does not have fear[5] of an evil thing which has not come. That sagacity[6] is best, one who knows: 'I do not know' with regard to a thing which he does not know.[7]

3

They held this too: Be a friend to every one[1] and this to you is [character. Appear to them[2] by goodness and this to you is][3] wisdom. Hold them as your own and this to you is religion.[4] Do good to them and this to you is soul.[5]

4[1]

They held this too: "Character" is one who does not deceive[2] anyone. "Wisdom" is one who does not deceive himself. "Religion"[3] is one who does that which he knows to be a good deed.

5[1]

They held this too: One who knows something to be a good deed and does not do it,[2] that is contempt.[3] Contempt is the opponent[4] of character. One who knows something to be a sin and does it, that is lustfulness. Lustfulness is the opponent of wisdom.[5] One who knows not a thing to be either a good deed or a sin, and before he comes to knowledge he performs it, that is self-love. Self-love is the opponent of religion.[6]

6* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xēm[1] xrad[2] andar nēst ud xrad xēm andar, ud dēn harw 2 andar xrad ud xēm.[3] ciš ī mēnōg pad xēm wirāstan dānihēd, tan[4] pad xrad dārihēd,[5] ruwān pad hamīh ī harw 2 bōzihēd.

7 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku šarm hān bawēd ke wināh ne hilēd kardan, ud nang hān bawēd ke kirbag[1] ne hilēd kardan.

8 [*M475*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pōryōtkēšīh mādiyān ciš a-wināhīh.

9 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xwēš-kārag pad awe bawēd ke šnāsag.

10 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku uskārišn ī[1] pad dēn hāmōyēn kirrōgīh be ke and-cand dānēd pad kunišn hamē kunēd.

11 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy ēn dām pad xēm dād ud pad xrad dārēd ud pad dēn abāz ō xwēš gīrēd.[1]

12* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn [*K179r*] dāšt ku ahreman harw ciš-ē pad ziyān ī ohrmazd kard, u-š ka kard būd[1] ēg xwad ziyān ud ohrmazd sūd. ud ohrmazd harw ciš pad[2] sūd ī xwēš kunēd u-š ka[3] kard bawēd ēg[4] xwad sūd ud ahreman ziyān.

13 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān 3 ciš ēn[1] xwēš-kārīhā-tom. cašm ō gēhān dāštan, ud hān wināhgār pad wināh ī jahišnīg [ī] pēšār (?) bawēd ne[2] awwēnīdan,[3] [*B370*] ud kirbag pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan. u-šān cašm ō gēhān dāštan ēn guft ku ke ō[4] xwēš-tan nigerēd ku-m[5] ce kāmīd ud ce hamē kunēm.

14 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku se ciš ī abēr dušwār kardan, ēn-ez ēdon. ēwag

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6 *A NPers. version of the first part of this section is found in M55, M52, at the end of *dar-i sīzdahum*. [1]NPers. version *ṭabī'at* [2]NPers. version *'aql* [3]*ud dēn harw 2 andar. . .xēm*: NPers. version *xirad va xīm andar dīn har du hast* [4]B om. [5]B *bōzihēd*

7 [1]*ke kirbag*: B om.

10 [1]B *ku*

11 [1]or *kunēd*?

12 *Also found in K35 f. 201v., 11. 14-17 (Dd, *pursišn* 94) and in *Wizīrīhā . . .*, *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 205 §11, 209. [1]B *bawēd ziyān* [2]B om. [3]*u-š ka*: Dd *ka-š* [4]Dd *ēg-eš be*

13 [1]B om. [2]*bawēd ne*: B om. [3]spelled 'wwynytn' [4]B om. [5]*ku-m*: B AYK MN

6

They held this too: Character is not in wisdom, (but) wisdom is in character; and religion is in both wisdom and character.[1] Spiritual things are known by disciplining character, the body is held by wisdom, the soul is saved by the union of both.

7

They held this too: "Shame" is that which does not let (one) commit a sin; "disgrace"[1] is that which does not let (one) perform a good deed.

8

They held this too: The main thing[1] in the way of the ancient sages is lack of sin.

9

They held this too: A person who fulfils his duty[1] is such with regard to that which he knows.[2]

10

They held this too: The deliberation[1] which is in religion is wholly craftsmanship; but he who knows as much, performs it in action.[2]

11

They held this too: Ohrmazd the Lord created these creatures through character, he holds them with wisdom, and takes them back to himself by religion.[1]

12

They held this too: Ahreman did every thing for the harm of Ohrmazd. When it was done, it constituted harm to himself and benefit to Ohrmazd. Ohrmazd does[1] every thing for his own benefit; when it is done, it constitutes benefit to himself and harm to Ahreman.

13

They held this too: These three things are the greatest duties[1] of men. To have one's eye on the world,[2] not to reproach a sinner for an accidental[3] sin[4] committed,[5] and to seek the reward of good deeds from the spirits.[6] They said: to have one's eye on the world is this, one who looks at himself (saying): "What have I desired? What am I doing?"

14

They held this too: There are three things which are very difficult to do,

hān ī wināhgār[1] pad [*M476*] wināh ne awwēnīdan, ud ēwag hān ī druz[2]-dādestān mard[3] xwadāyīh[4] ud xwāstag rāy ne burzīdan,[5] ud ēwag kirbag pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan ne az gētīg.

15* [*K179v*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī abaxšāyišn[1] ne awwēnišn ud hān ī awwēnišn ne burzišn.

16* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kadāmjān-ez mardom andar harw gāh ud zamān ciš ī mēnōg pad ayād dārišn,[1] nēwagīh ī wahišt ud anāgīh ī dušaxw. andar hān gāh ka[2] āsānīh ud nēwagīh ud rāmišn[3] aweš mad ēstēd[4] ēn-ez andēšišn[5] ku nēwag[6]-ez hād[7] anōh pad wahišt[8] ka ēdar-ez ēdōn nēwag, ka[9] az was <anāgīh> ī ahreman ī-š abāg nēwagīh anōh ne āmēxt ēdar-ez ēdōn nēwag.[10] andar[11] hān hangām[12] ka-š[13] tangīh[14] ud bēš ud anāgīh ud dard[15] aweš[16] mad ēstēd ēn-ez ēdōn[17] andēšišn[18] ku anāg-ez[19] *hād[20] anōh pad dušaxw ka ēdar-ez ēdōn[21] *anāg.[22] ka az[23] was nēwagīh ī ohrmazd ī-š abāg anāgīh anōh[24] ne[25] āmēxt[26] ēdar-ez[27] ēdōn[28] anāg.

17* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom[1] hān farrox-tom[2] ke[3] andar tan[4]-drustīh ud juwānīh[5] ciš hān grift ud kard ēstēd ī[6] abdom *rōz[7] ka[8] az ēn[9] gēhān be šawēd ēg-eš kāmag a'ōn ku-m kāž[10] wēš kard hēh.[11] ud az hān

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14 [1]B *wināhgārīh* [2]K dlwcn' [3]B GWRA [4]B + *xwadāyīh* [5]B *burzēnīdan*

15 *The whole of this section is om. in B. [1]Spelled 'pwxš'dšn

16 *The text is also found in K35 f. 201v bottom–f. 202r. 1.10. (Dd, *pursišn* 94) Ms. DE, which is generally a mere copy of B, has in this section a passage which is not found in B, cf. below n. 11. The variants of DE are recorded for that passage only, notes 11-22, following Sanjana's edition of Dk. [1]B *dārēd* [2]K + 's"n, marked with dots as deleted. [3]Dd lmšn' [4]Dd + *u-šān* [5]Dd *a'ōn dāšt* [6]Dd *nēwagīh* [7]B, K XWHt (= *hād*); Dd XWH'x (= *hēh*) [8]Dd + *ī rōšn* [9–10] B, K om. (the passage is found in Dd only). [11–22] B, K om. (the passage is found in Dd, DE only) [12]DE *gāh* [13]DE *ka* [14]Dd tng yx; DE tng 'b [15]*ud dard*: Dd om. [16]DE wyš [17]DE om. [18]DE *andēšēd* [19]Dd SLYA'c [20]Dd XWH'y; DE APt [21]Dd *a'ōn* [22]Dd *anāgīh*; DE om.; cf. also n. 11 [23]Dd LTMHc LTMH [24]K, B om. [25]K, B l'd [26]K, B om. [27]B, Dd *ēdar* [28]Dd *a'ōn*

17 *This section is found in K35 f. 202r 11.10-15 (Dd, *pursišn* 94). [1]B + *pad* [2]Dd *farrox-tar* [3]Dd *ke-š* [4]B om. [5]Dd *nēwagīh ud rāyēnišn* [6]Dd *ī-š* [7]K, B ZNH; Dd om. [8]Dd *ke* [9]*az ēn* (written MN ZNH): B MND'M; Dd om. *ēn* [10]*ku-m kāž*: Dd *kāž-em* [11]Dd om. [12]Dd

these are as follows: One, not to reproach a sinner for his sin;[1] one, not to praise a deceitful man for the sake of authority and wealth;[2] and one, to seek the reward of good deeds from the spirits, not from that which is material.

15

They held this too: One ought not to reproach one who is worthy of forgiveness and not to praise one who is worthy of reproach.[1]

16

They held this too: Each man, whoever he may be, should hold the things of the spirit in memory at every moment[1] and time – both the goodness of paradise and the evil of hell. At a moment when comfort, good things and joy have accrued to him, he should think this: "It will indeed be good there in paradise, when even here it is so good; when from the great evil of Ahreman, with which there is no goodness intermixed over there, it is (still) so good here." At a period when distress, grief, evil and pain have accrued to him, he should think this: "It will indeed be bad there in hell when it is so bad even here; when from the great goodness of Ohrmazd, with which there is no evil intermixed over there, it is (still) so bad here".

17

They held this too: That man is happiest who at the time of bodily health and young age has grasped and done those things (only) concerning which on the ultimate day, when he departs from this world, such may be his desire: "Would that I had done more". He ought to beware most from those things concerning which on the ultimate day his desire may be this: "Would that they had not been grasped and done by me".

ciš wēš[12] be[13] pahrēzišn ī-š abdom rōz[14] kāmag ēn[15] bawēd[16] ku-m[17] kāž[18] ma[19] grift ud kard[20] hēh.[21]

18 [*K180r*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlāyīh pad rāyēnišn ud bazag pad ranz-spōz dārišn.

19 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlāyīh mādiyān hān ciš ī harw kas tawān kardan ud ohrmazd-ez ī xwadāy[1] az harw kas xwāhēd ud ke ne kunēd ērangīhā.

20 u-šān hān ciš ēn[1] guft ke yazdān dōst bawēd hagrez menišn az dōstīh ī yazdān be ne[2] *wisānēd.[3]

21 [*B371; M477*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlamōgīh bun-xān wišuft ēstēd. ka naxust ō gēhān rasīd mardomān frāyist pad ruwān warrawēnīd, ud ēd rāy ce ō pādexšāyīh ne mad ēstēd abzāyēd. ud ka ō pādexšāyīh mad, frāyist hān ī *az[1] warrawišn[2] be *šud[3] abāg-ez[4] xwadāyīh ud[5] pādexšāyīh ī-š abāg. pas-ez ēd rāy ce mardomān az warrawišn šud ēstēd ne abzāyēd.

22 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wehīh az harw[1] kas gīrišn wattarīh [*K180v*] az[2] harw kas-ez[3] ne gīrišn.

23 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar dēn 5 ciš ī pahlom, ēn-ez ēdōn. rāstīh ud rādīh ud hunarāwandīh[1] ud tuxšāgīh ud jādag-gōwīh. rāstīh ēd pahlom ke andar dām ī ohrmazd hān kunēd ī awe ke pad-eš kunēd a'ōn sūdōmand-tar ka-š pad-eš kunēd. rādīh ēd pahlom ke dāšn ō kas kunēd ke az awe ke pad-eš kunēd pad gētīg ciš-ez[2] pādāšn ne ēmēd ku-š aweš rasēd, u-š ēn-ez andar nēst ku awe ke pad-eš kunēd wēšīgān pad spās ud āzādīh dārēd. hunarāwandīh[3] ēd pahlom ke abāg druz ī mēnōg kōšēd, *kadām-jān-ez[4] druz, nāmcišt ēn 5 druz andar ō[5] tan ne hilēd: āz ud arešk ud waran ud xešm ud

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abēr [13]B om. [14]B **ZNH**; Dd om., + *ka az gēhān be šawēd ēg-eš* [15]Dd *a'ōn* [16]B, Dd om. [17]B, Dd *ku* [18]Dd *kāž-em* [19]Dd *kem* [20]*grift ud kard*: Dd *kard ud grift* [21]Dd + *u-m pad ruwān āsānīhā-tar būd hēh*

19 [1]B *xwadāyīh*

20 [1]*hān ciš ēn*: B *ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt hān* [2]K om. [3]MSS wsynyt

21 [1]*ī az*: MSS MNW [2]spelled, here and later, wylwdšn [3]MSS 'ZLWNyt [4]B *abāg* [5]*xwadāyīh ud*: B om.

22 [1]B om. [2]B + *az* [3]B *kas*

23 [1]B *hunarōmandīh* [2]B *ciš* [3]B *hunarōmandīh* [4]MSS kt'my'c [5]B

18

They held this too: Righteousness should be held as a thing to perform. Sin should be held by that which repels pain.[1]

19

They held this too: Righteousness in substance is that thing which every person can perform, and which Ohrmazd the Lord desires from every person. Whoever does not perform that is under guilt.[1]

20

They said:[1] That thing is this.[2] Whoever is a friend of the gods never removes[3] his thought from the friendship of the gods.

21

They held this too: Heresy has destroyed (its own) source.[1] When it first came to the world, it made people mostly believe in the soul, and because it had not come to power it grew. When it came to power those mostly who had abandoned faith were with the power and authority which belonged to it.[2] After this, indeed, because people have abandoned faith, it does not grow.[3]

22

They held this too: One should take goodness[1] from every one; one should not take evil from any[2] one.[3]

23

They held this too: There are five best things in religion. These are: truthfulness, generosity, being possessed of virtue,[1] diligence and advocacy.[2]

This truthfulness is best: one who acts (in such a manner) to the creatures of Ohrmazd that the recipient of his action has so much more benefit[3] when he acts like that to him.

This generosity is best: One who makes a present to a person from whom he has no hope of receiving anything in reward in this world, and he has not even this (hope), namely, that the recipient of his gift should hold him abundantly[4] in gratitude and praise.[5]

This possession of virtue is best: One who makes battle against the non-material demons, whatever they may be, and in particular does not let these five demons into his body: Greed, Envy, Lust, Wrath and Shame.[6]

nang. tuxšāgīh ēd pahlom ke[6] kār ī abar ēstēd pad kardan[7] a'ōn kard ēstēd ku harw gāh pad tan ī xwēš abē-gumān[8] ku agar pad ham zamān be mīrēd ēg ciš[9] ciš-ez[10] juttar ne |*K181r*] abāyēd kardan [*M478*] ku hān ī-š kard ēstēd. jādag-gōwīh ēd pahlom ke awe kas rāy saxwan gōwēd ī a-gōwand, u-š must ud gilag ī xwēš guftan ne tawān, hān kas ēwāz ī ruwān ī xwēš ud hān ī driyōš weh[11] kas mardom ī gētīg ud ēn 6 amahraspand rāy gōwēd.

24 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xrad andar [*B372*] kār ud xēm andar pādexšāyīh ud dōst andar widang[1] paydāg.[2]

25* u-šān ēn-ez[1] a'ōn dāšt ku xrad ī xradān pahlom hān ke tawān ku ēn tan ēdōn dārēd ku ruwān rāy ciš-ez anāgīh ō tan ne[2] rasēd ud ruwān a'ōn dārēd ku tan rāy ciš-ez[3] anāgīh ō ruwān ne rasēd. ud ka juttar a'ōn ne tawān kardan tan hilišn[4] ud ruwān *dārišn.[5]

26 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xwadāyīh magend[1] ī xwāstag ud xwāstag[2] magend ī tan ud tan[3] magend ī ruwān. ud mardomān ke anāgīh aweš rasēd ī ēn 4 ciš ēdōn az-eš ābār-būd bīm [*K181v*] xwāstag, xwadāyīh[4] be ēw hilēd. ud ka pad xwadāyīh ne wizīrēd xwāstag-ez abāg[5] be ēw hilēd. ud ka pad[6] xwāstag-ez[7] ne wizīrēd tan-ez abāg[8] be ēw hilēd ud pas ō ruwān ma ēw spōzēd.

27 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlāyīh ud dēn mehmānīh[1] ēd *hu-dārišn[2] ud hu-bahrīh (?)[3] ud hunsandīh.

28 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas tan ī xwēš ustefrīd[1] be kunišn ud ō yazdān abspārišn ud az hān frāz [*M479*] wistāxw[2] bawišn ku[3] hagrez ciš aweš ne rasēd ī aweš madan[4] rāy ziyān.

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om. [6]B om. [7]B **krtk'** [8]B **'p'gwmšn** [9]MSS **cš**, which can be read *(ēg)-ez-eš* [10]B **MND'M dwl** [11]spelled **wx** (cf. 75, n. 2)

24 [1]B **tnd** [2]B om.

25 *NPers. version is found in M55, M52; cf. the second part of section 15 in the NPers. verion. [1]B *ēn* [2]K om. [3]B *ciš* [4]spelled **ŠBKWNBYN** [5]MSS **YXSNWyt'**

26 [1]spelled **mkwnd** throughout this passage [2]*ud xwāstag*: K om. [3]*ud tan*: B **tn** [4]*xwāstag xwadāyīh*: B *xwadāyīh xwāstag* [5]B om. [6]B + *xwadāyīh ud* [7]B *xwāstag* [8]B **LWH** (for **LWTH**)

27 [1]B + Y [2]K **xwd'lsny**; B **xwd'lyt'**. The reading is doubtful. [3]Reading doubtful; spelled **xwb'lyx**

28 [1]K **dwstwplyt'**; B **'wstwplyt'** [2]B **st'xw'** [3]B + *harw* [4]B **mt'**

This diligence is best: One who does[7] the work which he is engaged in doing in such a manner that at every moment he has certainty in himself with regard to the following: were he to die at that hour it would not be necessary to do anything whatsoever in a way different from that in which he is doing it.

That advocacy is best: One who speaks for a person who is inarticulate,[8] who cannot speak his own misery and complaint;[9] that person speaks out the voice of his own soul and of that of the poor[10] and good[11] person to the people of this world and these six Amahraspands.[12]

24

They held this too: Wisdom is manifest in work, character in rule, and a friend in hardship.[1]

25

They held this too: The wisdom which is best of all wisdoms is that, viz. one who can hold this body in such a way that no evil comes to it because of the soul, and who can hold the soul in such a manner that no evil comes to it because of the body. And when it is different and he cannot act thus, he ought to abandon the body and keep the soul.

26

They held this too: Authority is the shield[1] of wealth, wealth is the shield of the body, the body is the shield of the soul. A person[2] to whom a misfortune comes in connection with which there is the fear that wealth from among[3] these four things may be removed,[4] let him abandon authority. When there is no hope[5] with regard to authority, let him abandon wealth too with it. When there is no hope with regard to wealth, too, let him also abandon the body together with it. After this he should not reject the soul.

27

They held this too: Righteousness and making religion dwell (in oneself) consist in this: holding well,[1] having a good share,[2] and being content.

28

They held this too: Every person should make an offering[1] of himself and deliver himself to the gods, and from then on be confident that nothing will ever reach him from whose coming there will be harm.

29 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku gilag-ōbār ud wēdwar ud pad kirbag tuxšāg ud wistāxw[1] bawišn ud spās az mēnōgān xwāhišn.

30 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ox a'ōn pad xwadāy dārišn ud framān-burdār bawišn ce'ōn hān ī xwadāy ud dehbad.[1] be az ox dastwar ciš-ez kār ne kunišn.

31* u-šān ēn-ez [*K182r*] a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd[1] az mardomān xwāhišn[2] ēn ku-m šnāsēd. ce ēn dānēd ku-m agar[3] šnāsēnd harw kas pas ī man bawēd.[4] ud ahreman xwāhišn ēn ku-m [*B373*] ma šnāsēd. ce ēn dānēd ku-m agar šnāsēnd kas-ez az pas ī man ne bawēd.[5]

32* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd az mardomān ēn xwāhēd ku harw ce kunēd xwēš rāy kunēd u-tān cand[1] kāmag kunēd. ud ahreman ēn xwāhēd ku xwēš rāy ma kunēd u-tān cand[1] kāmag kunēd.[2]

33 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas ciš-ē ast ī-š az abārīg ciš āzarmīg-tar ud grāmīg-tar[1] ud ka hān ciš hamē rāyēnēd[2] ka abārīg ciš mānd ud ne pad miyān ēg-ez pad rāmišn. u-š hān ciš dēn.

34 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn hān ī hamē kunēd.

35 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke [*K182v*] ruwān rāy jādag-gōwīh warrawēd kam wattar ast ku ke[1] ciš-ez ne warrawēd.

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29 [1] B **st'xw'**

30 [1] K **dxywywpt'**

31 *A NPers. version is found in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 172, No. 16. The text is also in *Wizīrīhā. . .*, *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 205 §14, 209, and in *GBd*, cf. *Zandākāsīh* p. 232, 240 (referred to by Jamaspasa). A close parallel text is found in *MX* 40.24-28, which reads: *hān ēwag kāmag ī ohrmazd ī xwadāy az mardomān sahēd ēn ku man be šnāsēd ce harw ke man be šnāsēd az pas ī man āyēd ud ō hušnūdagīh ī man tuxšēd. ud hān ēwag kāmag ī ahreman az mardomān sahēd ēn ku man ma šnāsēd. ce dānēd ku ke awe druwand be šnāsēd az pas ī awe anāg kunišn šnāsēd. ce dānēd ku ke awe druwand be šnāsēd az pas ī awe anāg kunišn ne šawēd u-š ciš-ez nērōg ud hayyārīh az awe mardom ne bawēd.* (Pāz- and has a number of variants to this text.) [1] B + *ī xwadāy*; NPers. version + *xudāy* [2] *az mardomān xwāhišn*: B om. [3] B *agar-em* [4] B *āyēd*; NPers. *bāšad* [5] B *āyēd*; NPers. *bāšad*

32 *A NPers. version is found in M55, M52, in the second part of *dar-i šānzdahum* [1] spelled **APt 'ncnd**, it might be read, with a slight emendation, *u-t and-cand*. [2] read: *[ma] kunēd*?; NPers. version *kunīd*

33 [1] spelled **gl'nmyktl** [2] B **ld'dyn'yt'**

35 [1] B om.

29

They held this too: One should be a person who suppresses complaint,[1] patient,[2] diligent and confident in doing good works, and who seeks gratitude from the spirits.[3]

30

They held this too: One ought to hold the mind as lord[1] and be obedient to it in the same way as one is to a lord and ruler. One ought not to do any work without the authority of mind.

31

They held this too: The desire of Ohrmazd from men is this: 'Know me', for he knows: 'If they know me, every one will follow me'. The desire of Ahreman is this: 'Do not know me', for he knows: 'If they know me no one will follow me'.[1]

32

They held this too: Ohrmazd desires from men this, namely, "Whatever you do, do it for your own selves, and do as much (of it) as you wish to do." Ahreman desires from men this, namely, "Do not do it for your own selves, (but) do as much (of it) as you wish to do".

33

They held this too: Every person has one thing which is dearer and more precious to him than other things. When he disciplines that thing, even though other things be neglected and not at his disposal, he is joyful. That thing is his religion.

34

They held this too: Religion is that which one always does.

35

They held this too: One who believes in advocacy for the sake of (his) soul (has) less evil than one who does not believe at all.[1]

36 [*M480*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn hān bawēd ke pad harw dām xwārīh kunēd.

37 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku bazag hān bawēd[1] ī pad dād. ud wināh hān bawēd ī pad sūdagīh ud tar-menišnīh. ud māndag hān bawēd[2] ī be mānād.

38 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wināh mādiyān frēhbūd ud abēbūd. ud kirbag mādiyān paymān.

39 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn paymān.

40 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ciš an-āhōgīh paymān. ud az ēn[1] dēn a'ōn paydāg ku mahist[2] paymān kirbag. ud paymān ēn humat hūxt huwaršt.

41 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw[1] ke ahlaw bawēd pad dēn ahlaw bawēd.

42 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku frēhbūd ēd ke hān ī ne menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd. ud abēbūd ēd ke hān[1] ī menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn ne menēd [*K183r*] ud gōwēd[2] ud kunēd. ud paymān ēd ke hān menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd ī menišn ud gōwišn [*B374*] ud kunišn.

43 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar dēn 3 ciš ēn[1] mādagwar-tar hamīh ud paymān ud wizihīdagīh.[2]
hamīh ēd bawēd ke pad menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn pad harw frārōnīh abāg yazdān ud wehān ham-bawēd. hān hamīh hagrez ne wišōbēd.
wizihīdagīh ēd bawēd ke pad harw abārōnīh ud wināh az [*M481*] ahreman ud dēwān ud wattarān[3] jud bawēd.
ud paymān ēd bawēd ke awe hamīh ud wizihīdagīh abar pānag bawēd ud hagrez[4] ne[5] wišōbēd.

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37 [1]B om. [2]B om.
40 [1]*az ēn*: B MND'M [2]B mxyst'k
41 [1]written in B above the line
42 [1]B om. [2]*menēd ud gōwēd*: B *gōwēd ud menēd*
43 [1]B om. [2]B + XNA [3]B om. [4]B 'lc [5]B l'd

36
They held this too: Religion is that, namely: one who causes comfort to every creature.

37
They held this too: "*Bazag*" is that which concerns the law. "*Wināh*" is that which is (committed) through negligence[1] and contempt. "*Māndag*" is that which is going to stay on.[2]

38
They held this too: The main thing in transgression is excess and deficiency. The main thing in a virtuous work is the (right) measure.

39
They held this too: Religion is the (right) measure.

40
They held this too: In every thing, being free from defect is the (right) measure. The following is manifest from this religion: the greatest (keeping of) the measure is the virtuous deed. This is the (right) measure: good thought, good speech, good deed.

41
They held this too: Whoever is righteous is righteous in religion.

42
They held this too: Excess is this, viz. one who thinks, speaks and makes that which is not to be thought, spoken or made. Deficiency is this, viz. one who does not think, speak and act that which is to be thought, spoken and done. The (right) measure is this, viz. one who thinks, speaks and makes that which is to be thought, spoken and made.

43
They held this too: These three things are most important in the religion: union, the right measure and separation.
This is union: one who is associated to the gods and the good ones in every righteousness in thought, speech and deed. That union never perishes.
This is separation: one who is detached in every iniquity and sin from Ahreman, the demons and the evil ones.
This is the right measure: one who is a protector of that union and separation. It will never perish.[1]

44 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān pahrēz was ēwēnag ud hān ī mahist ēd ke yazdān andar xwēš-tan a'ōn wistāxw ud abē-bīm kunēd ku harw ce kāmēnd aweš nimāyēnd.

45 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ātaxš pahrēz was ēwēnag ud pahrēz 2 ēn meh, ēwag ka-š abē-wināhīhā ud rāstīhā pahrēzēnd, *[K183v]* ud ēwag ēn ka hān ī pad-eš kunihēd[1] arzānīg.

46 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad kār ī frāz rasēd mehgārīh nigerišn, ud ke mehgārīh ne dānēd med-kārīh nigerišn.

47 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka ahreman az ēn 4 rang ēwag abar abganēd ēg-eš be ō xwēš barēd: xwadāy-dēnīh ayāb xwāstag-dēnīh ayāb *pazībāgīh[1] ayāb ahlamōgīh.

48* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az-eš-mehān tarsagāh ud az-eš-kehān dāštār bawišn ud ō hamahlān sōg dahišn. ud az ēn 3 ēwag ēn weh ke ō hamahlān sōg dahēd, ce ke ō hamahlān sōg[1] ne dahēd hān paydāg ku-š sāzišn ī abāg az-eš-mehān *hugar[2] bīm rāy ud az-eš-kehān gung[3] tarsagāhīh rāy.[4]

49 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad dārišn ī tan ciš-ē ēn weh ke az-eš-keh pad hamahl, ud hamahl pad az-eš-meh *[K184r]* ud az-eš-meh pad xwadāy dārēd.

50* *[B375; M482]* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az[1] padīdīgīh rāh ī ō dušaxw nēst ud az a-padīdīgīh rāh ī ō wahišt nēst. ud padīdīgīh ēd ke az wināh ī kard abaxš ud pad-padīd bawēd ud did hān wināh ne kunēd.

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45 [1]B *kunēd*

47 [1]MSS **pwc'p'dy**tyx

48 *An Arabic version of this saying is in Misk., *JX*, 76.3-6. Also in *Al-adab al-ṣaghīr* by Ibn al-Muqaffa', cf. *Rasā'il al. Bulaghā'*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī, 3rd ed., Cairo 1946, 27 f. [1]*dahēd, ce ke ō hamahlān sōg*: B om. [2]MSS **BYN** [3]B nd [4]B om.

50 *A badly distorted NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 173 f., No. 24. [1]B **m**

44

They held this too: There are many kinds of service by people. This is the greatest, viz. one who makes the gods so confident and secure in his body that they show him whatever they desire.

45

They held this too: There are many kinds of service (rendered) to fire, and these two kinds of service are greatest: one, when service is rendered in a manner which is free from sin and truthful, and one, when it is done by something (?) worthy.

46

They held this too: In a work which presents itself it is necessary to consider the harm (?).[1] A person who does not know the harm ought to consider refraining.[2]

47

They held this too: When Ahreman casts one of these four stratagems over (a person), he carries him over to his own. (These are:) making authority into one's religion, making wealth one's religion; hypocrisy;[1] or heresy.

48

They held this too: One ought to be respectful to one's superiors and a preserver of one's inferiors and to give benefit[1] to one's peers. Of these three this one is best, one who gives benefit to his peers. For it is manifest with regard to a person who does not give benefit to his peers that his beneficient[2] dealing with his superiors is for fear and that he is dumb towards his inferiors out of reverence.[3]

49

They held this too: In keeping oneself this thing is best: a person who holds his inferior as his peer, who holds his peer as his superior, and who holds his superior as a lord.

50

They held this too: From repentance there is no way to hell.[1] From lack of repentance there is no way to paradise. This is repentance: one who is contrite[2] and repentant of a sin committed and who will not commit that sin again.

51 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku 3 kas pad ahlāyīh ēn arwand-tar. ēwag ke andar gursagīh-ē rād, ud ēwag ke andar garān-menišnīh-ē rāst-guftār, ud ēwag ke andar[1] awe ī zadag ne zanēd.[2]

52* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw mardom ka murd[1] ēstēd *ā-š[2] xwēš-tan az-eš pahrēz jahēd ku tā-š pad-eš ne paykabēm ud rīman ne bawēm. ud ka-š pad-eš paykabēd[3] xwēš-tan pad rīman[4] dārēd. ud zīndag-ez mardom[5] az āzār ud bēš ī awe ī did mardom a'ōn be pahrēzišn ce'ōn pad murd[6] az nasāh ī awe mard.

53 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw mardom dānag-ē [*K184v*] kirbag[1] be xwāhišn. u-š ka dānag-ē kirbag pad miyān kard az hān frāz kirbag was ud wināh nihang bawēd. u-šān kirbag dānag-ē ēd[2] guft dēn dastwar ī dānāg ud hamīh ī frārōn kardan.

54 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke kirbag pad[1] ēn 4 ciš rāy kunēd ēg-eš ne kirbag bawēd: nām ī abārōn ayāb waran ayāb nang ayāb tars ī awe ī did rāy.

55 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wāzag ō ōstwārān [*M483*] gōwišn ud dēn andar ham-dēnān uskārišn ud kirbag ud bazag ō harw kas gōwišn.

56 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wāzag [ō] awe gōwišn ke wīr a'ōn ku frāz gīrēd,[1] ud huš a'ōn ku be ne[2] jōyēd, ud xrad a'ōn ku awe ī did weh tawān kardan.

57 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ciš hān ast ī hān ke andar ēstēd az-eš be ne ayāsēd ud hān ke andar ne ēstēd aweš ayāsēd.

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51 [1]B om. [2]K + *zanēd*

52 *A NPers. version is found in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 173, No. 23. [1]B *murdag* [2]MSS APš [3]M52 gloss *āmēzad* [4]B *rīmanīh* [5]B **GBRA'n** [6]*pad murd*: B *mardom*

53 [1]B **kytk'** [2]B om.

54 [1]B om.

56 [1]An alternative possible reading: *kunēd* [2]B om.

51

They held this too: These three persons are most powerful in righteousness: one who is generous at a time of hunger; one who is a speaker of truth at a time of grave danger (?);[1] and one who does not smite a stricken person.

52

They held this too: When any man dies there rises (the need for) guarding oneself from him, (saying:) "Let me not touch him and become defiled". When he touches[1] him, he regards himself as defiled. Even with regard to living persons, people ought to guard themselves so much from causing harm and injury to another person, as, with regard to a dead man, from his corpse.

53

They held this too: Every man ought to desire a seed of good deeds. When he has secured a seed of good deeds, good deeds become from then on abundant and sins few. "A seed of good deeds", they said, is this: a religious authority who is wise[1] and the company of the righteous.[2]

54

They held this too: One who does a good deed for the sake of these four things, it is no virtue to him: sinful fame, concupiscence, disgrace or the fear of another person.

55[1]

They held this too: It is necessary to say the word to reliable people, to consider religion among those of the same religion, and to speak of good deeds and sins to everyone.

56

They held this too: It is necessary to say the word to a person who has such comprehension[1] that he grasps it, and such awareness that he does not forget [?][2] it, and such wisdom that he can do good to his fellow.

57[1]

They held this too: There is [one] thing [with regard to which the following is true:] One who stands inside it does not long (to be)[2] away from it, and one who does not stand inside it longs for it.

58* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ke pad dēn ēstēd az anōh ī ēstēd [*K185r*] be ne ayāsēd.

59 [*B376*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt[1] ku mardomān hušyār bawišn ud az hān druz abēr pahrēzišn ī ēmēdag ud wistāxwīh ud dastwarīh[2] ast ī harw wināh. hān druz ēd drōzanīh[3] ce frāyist hān wināh ī mard ka kunēd pad ēmēdag ud wistāxwīh ud dastwarīh kunēd ku kas ne dānēd ud an ne gōwēm ud agar kas[4] dānēd pad-eš[5] nakkīrā bawēm[6] ud agar *buxt *hēm[7] ēnyā[8] abar ēstēm ud gōwēm ku-m *ōh[9] abāyēd kardan.

60* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku agar uzwān a-drōw hād ka ō kōf-ē rōn gōwēh ku frāz raw ēg frāz rawēd.

61* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hamē[1] ka ēwag[2] gām padīrag ī dēn frāz šawēd ēg dēn hazār gām padīrag ō abāz āyēd.

62 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku be ke xwad ayāb niyāgān kirbag-ē pad nāmcišt[1] kard ēstēd *ēnyā-š[2] sar ō pōryōtkēšīh[3] ne bawēd.

63* [*K185v; M484*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke *rōy[1] ō dēn kunēd ud xēm ī xwēš wirāyēd ēg dēn 1000 dranzišn nimāyēd ī-š hagrez az kas ne ašnūd ud ka abāg dastwarān ud dānāgān uskārēd rāst.

64 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wīr kār ēd ciš xwāstan, ud huš kār ēd ganzwarīh kardan ud ciš ī wīr xwāhēd[1] nigāh dāštan, ud xrad kār ēd wizīdārīh[2] kardan ud weh ud wattar šnāxtan ud hān ī weh kardan ud hān ī wattar hištan.

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58 *The whole section is om. in B

59 [1]B + *ēstēd* [2]B *dastwar* [3]or: *druzīh* [4]B 'š [5]B + **wyl'd** (prob. a failed attempt to write *nakkīrā*) [6]B *bawēd* [7]**buxt *hēm*: MSS **bwxtm** [8]B **XTš** [9]MSS **'L**

60 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 170, No. 3. Read *va-guftī* +*ba-stāy-i kōh*..., which makes the version intelligible (Bthl. "Mir nicht verständlich").

61 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171, No. 4. [1]K om. [2]spelled XD, presumably an ideogram.

62 [1]K spells **ŠMcšt'** [2]spelled **ADYNy'š** [3]K spells **plywtkyšyx**

63 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52; Bthl. *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171, No. 4 (text not given by Bthl.). [1]K **ANPMH**, B **ANPWMH**

64 [1]B *xwāst* [2]B wcdy**nyt'lyx**

58[1]

They held this too: Every one who stands in the religion does not long (to be) away from where he stands.

59

They held this too: People should be alert and guard themselves strongly against the demon who is the hope, confidence and authority for every sin. This is the deceit of that demon: when a man commits the sin he first does it with hope, confidence and authority, [thinking:] "No one will know, I shall not tell; if any one knows [about it], I shall deny[1] it. Perhaps I shall be found innocent. Otherwise I shall affirm it and say: I had to do it in this manner."

60

They held this too: If a tongue be truthful, should it say to a mountain, "Go forward", it will go forward.[1]

61

They held this too: Whenever you go forth towards religion one[1] step, it comes forward in return a thousand steps.

62

They held this too: Unless a person himself, or his ancestors, have done some specific good work, he has no union[1] with orthodoxy.

63

They held this too: A man who turns his face towards religion and disciplines his character, religion shows him a thousand sayings which he has never heard from any one; when he considers [them] with religious authorities and the wise, [they are] right.

64

They held this too: The work of comprehension[1] is this, to seek a thing. The work of awareness is this, to be a treasurer and to watch over the thing which comprehension seeks. The work of wisdom is this, to distinguish, to know good and evil, to do that which is good and to abandon that which is evil.

65 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ciš awe rāy[1] bawēd ke rāy kunēnd ud mizd ud pādāšn az awe abāz windēnd ke rāy kunēnd. ud mardomān abēr tuxšāg *bawišn[2] ku tā kirbag kunēm[3] ku tā- [*B377*] -mān mizd az ohrmazd ī xwaday bawēd ce ke mizd az ahreman ēg-eš mizd anāgīh.

66 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [*K186r*] ke dānēd ēn and darag ī abar ēn nāmag nibišt ēstēd nigerīdan xwēš-tan ud awe ī did weh[1] šnāsēd.[2]

67 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ciš ī mādiyān ēn 5 gōhr ud kālbud ud kirrōg ud ātaxš ud kadām-jān-ez gōhr.

68 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān gōhr 3 ēwēnag: ēwag hu-tōhmagīg[1], ēwag duš-tōhmagīg[2] ud ēwag sedīg. ud hān ī hu-tōhmagīg[3] ka-š ōh[4] frahang aweš ne barēnd ēg-ez [weh] bawēd. ud hān ī duš-tōhmagīg[5] ka-š[6] was frahang abar barēnd ēg-ez [weh] ne bawēd. ud hān ī sedīg pad frahang weh ud wattar bawēd, [*M485*] pad[7] frahang ī frārōn weh ud pad hān ī abārōn wattar bawēd. ast az-eš ke hān[8] ī frārōn frahang pad abārōnīh ō kār barēnd ce'ōn ahlamōgān ōšmarišn ī dēn.

69* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ne andēšišn ud ne tarsišn rāy mard cār xwāhišn az abārōnīh.

70 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andēšišn ī mēnōgīh az druwandīh gāhānīgān,[1] [*K186v*] ud hān ī gētīgīg az duš-srawīh[2] haδa-mānθrīgān, ud tars ī az puhl ud pazd ī pādexšāy dādīgān az wināh be pāyēnd.

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65 [1]B om. [2]K YXWWNš (the passage is not in B) [3]*ud mardomān abēr tuxšāg. . .kunēm*: B om.

66 [1]B om. [2]K *šnāxtan*

68 [1]B *hu-tōhmīg* [2]B wštwxmyk [3]B *hu-tōhmag* [4]B 'L [5]B *duš-tōhmīg* [6]B ADYNš [7]K + *pad* [8]B *hān-ez*

69 *A NPers. version of this saying is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 172, No. 17. The text is as follows: *az dīn-i bih paydā-st har-ki andīša va-tars-i dīn na-dārad az āvārōn-aš ya'nī badī-yi ō čāra bāyad kardan.*

70 [1]B *gāhānīg* [2]B dwslwbyx

65

They held this too: Every thing is his for whom it is done, and reward and recompense are obtained from him for whom it is done. People should be very diligent, [saying:] "Let us do good deeds, so that our reward may be from Ohrmazd the Lord"; for that man whose reward is from Ahreman, his reward is evil.

66

They held this too: A person who knows how to heed these several subjects[1] which are written in this book, is better acquainted with his own self and that of others.

67

They held this too: These five [elements] are the main[1] thing: substance, form, skill, fire and whatever [particular] substance.[2]

68

They held this too: The substance of men is of three kinds: one, having good seed; one, having bad seed; and one, medium.[1] A man of good seed, even when they do not give him education[2] in this manner, yet he is [good]. A man of bad seed, even when they give him much education, yet he is not [good]. A man who is medium becomes better or worse by education: by righteous education he becomes better, and by sinful one worse. Some of them apply righteous education to sinfulness, as is the case of the heretics with the doctrines[3] of the religion.

69

They held this too: Because of lack of apprehension and fear people ought to seek an escape from wickedness.[1]

70

They held this too:[1] Spiritual apprehension from being a follower of the demons preserves the people of the *Gāthā* from sin. Material apprehension from ill-fame preserves the people of the *Hadha-mānthra* from sin. The fear of the punishment and chastisement of the ruler preserves the people of *Dād* from sin.

71 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard be ka pad mādiyān ciš wizōyihēd ud šnāsihēd ēnyā-š[1] ēwāz tawāngarīh ud was-xwāstagīh rāy az[2] wehīh[3] be ne ōgārišn[4] ud ne andak[5]-xwāstagīh ud niyāzōmandīh rāy pad wehīh *ōh[6] stāyišn. ce ka mādiyān ne wehīh ud wattarīh ī mard be andak-xwāstagīh ud was-xwāstagīh gīrihēd, ēg andar gēhān bawēd ku was-abzār mardom wad-cihrag *pazībāyēd[7], ud wināhgār ī abārōn nām-kāmag [*B378*] ke hān nām-kāmagīh rāy xwāstag kam dārēd, ud hān ī niyāzōmand ka pad a-hunsandīh ud āzār[8] andar[9] škōhīh zīwēd, ud hān ī wanēgar[10] ke[11] hān ī dārēd be absihēnēd, ud hān ī ašgahān ke xwāstag[12] ne kunēd, ud[13] ane-z was-ēwēnag wadag mardom stāyēd, ud hān ī angad-xwāstag ud rād mard tar menēd, [*K187r*] ud awe ī škōh xwēš-tan andar awe ī [*M486*] angad wirāstag paydāg kunēd, ud hān āhōg ī-š ast kam be wirāyēd. ud az hān bahr awe ī angad ud rād mard ast ī pad hān ī hamē kunēd pašēmān[14] bawēd, ud awe ke hān stāyišn kunēd pad bahr ī xwēš rādīh az gēhān kāst ud hān and āhōg ī andar gēhān stāyēd mehmān kard bawēd.

72 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke zan ī šōyēndag marzēd ka[1] ōh wināh ī anābuhragān[2] andar ne bawēd ēg-ez az kunišn ī awe mard an-āštīh ud dardagīh[3] andar gēhān be abzāyēd.[4] ud pad an-āštīh ud dardagīh[5] ī az kunišn ī awe mard andar gēhān be abzāyēd (pad) hān mard ōh tōzēd.[6]

73 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hu-pattōg[1] bawēd pad astānag[2] ud škeftīh ī aweš rasēd, ce abē-astānag mard dēwān-xwēš bawēd.

74 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ciš-ez az dēn sūdōmand-tar[1] nēst ce [*K187v*] hān xwarr ī dēn abar[2] abganēd hagrez az[3] mardomān ābār ne bawēd.

71 [1]B ADYNy'š [2]B om. [3]B *weh* [4]B 'wg'lšn (K, properly, 'wk'lšn) [5]B 'ntdk' [6]MSS 'L [7]K pwcp'dyt', B pwwcp'dyt' [8]B *abārōn* [9]B om. [10]B wnzgl [11]B MN [12]B *xwāst* [13]K wyn' [14]K pyšm'n

72 [1]B *ka-z* [2]B 'nt'pwxlk'n [3]B *dardīh* [4]K *abāyēd* [5]B *dardīh* [6]B twcynytk'

73 [1]B xwptk' [2]B 'stk

74 [1]B swtymndtl [2]B om. [3]B om.

71

They held this too: Unless a man be examined[1] and known in the most important things, one should not deny[2] him goodness solely because of his wealth and opulence, and one should not thus praise a man for goodness because of his paucity of wealth and indigence. For when, principally, not the goodness and wickedness of the man are perceived, but his paucity or abundance of wealth, it may come about in the world that a man of great virtue[3] seems (falsely[4] like) one of evil nature; and that one praises a trespasser who is a sinful fame-seeker, and who possesses little wealth on account of his desire for fame; or an indigent person, who lives in poverty[5] through discontent and harm; or a wasteful[6] person, who destroys that which he possesses; or a lazy person who does not produce wealth, and other evil people of many sorts; and that one despises a generous man of abundant[7] wealth. The poor man manifests himself as disciplined as compared to the wealthy, and disciplines his faults less. For that reason the generous man who is wealthy is sometimes regretful of what he does, and the man who bestows that praise causes, for his own part, generosity to diminish from the world and that much evil which he praises in the world he causes to reside [in it].

72

They held this too: A man who unites with a married woman, even though there is no sin which is unatonable in that, yet lack of peace and suffering increase in the world as a result of the action of that man, and that man atones for the lack of peace and for the suffering which increase in the world through his action.

73

They held this too: Be steadfast[1] in calamity and misfortune which befall you, for a man without calamity[2] (?) becomes possessed by the demons.

74

They held this too: There is nothing more beneficial than religion, for that fortune which the religion casts is never removed[1] from people.

75 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez az tištr rād-tar nēst, ce kas-ez[1] nēst ke rādīh a'ōn weh[2] ud abēragānīhā ud bawandag kunēd ce'ōn tištr.

76 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad hāmōyēn ēn dēn wāzag ī hamē ēwag ēn ku harw kas *cim[1] ī ne hamē ēwagānag ud hān ī hamē ēwagānag[2] abāyēd pursīdan.

77* [*M487*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn [*B379*] dāšt ku kas-ez mardom nēst ke az mād zāyēd u-š ēn[1] 6[2] mēnōg abar ne kōšēnd: wahman ud akōman ud srōš[3] ud xešm ud spandarmad[4] ud druz ī tarōmad.

78* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke wahman pad tan mehmān ēg-eš ēn daxšag ku taftīg bawēd pad kirbag, ud hu-paywand[1] bawēd abāg wehān, ud *hugar[2] bawēd pad āštīh, ud *ne-angad *wehān[3] jādag-gōw[4], ud xwad rād bawēd. ud *ke[5] akōman pad tan mehmān ēg-eš ēn daxšag ku absard[6] [*K188r*] bawēd pad kirbag, ud duš-paywand bawēd abāg wehān, ud dušwār bawēd [pad] āštīh kardan, ud *ne-angad *weh[7] petyārag, ud xwad [pan] bawēd.
ud ke srōš pad tan mehmān ēg-eš daxšag ēn ku andar harw gāh saxwan abāg šāyēd guftan, ud ka gōwēnd ōh niyōšēd, ud ka āhōg[8] abāz gōwēnd padīrēd ud wirāyēd. kasān rāy drōg ne gōwēd, ud hān ī[9] abē-wināh ne zanēd, ud hān ī wināhgār pad paymān zanēd.
ud ke xešm pad tan mehmān ēg-eš daxšag ēn ku harw gāh ciš ne šāyēd abāg guftan, ud ka gōwēnd ne niyōšēd, ud ka kōdag-ez āhōg[10] gōwēnd ēg-eš āhīd bawēd ud ne wirāyēd. kasān rāy drōg was gōwēd[11] ud hān ī abē-wināh was zanēd.
ud ke spandarmad pad tan mehmān ēg-eš daxšag ēn ku bawandag-menišn[12] bawēd, u-š ka sārēnēnd[13] ne sārihēd,[14] u-š ka was-ez pad xīr ī gētīg[15] bahr[16]

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75 [1] B *kas* [2] spelled **wx** (cf. 23, n. 11)

76 [1] MSS **MHm** [= *ce-m*] [2] B **'dwynk'**

77 *A NPers. version of 77 and 78 combined together is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 172, No. 12. For **j'dh** read *čāra* in Bartholomae's text. [1] B om. [2] B **5**; NPers. version *panj* (M55 *si*) [3] K **slš** [4] B **spdrmt**

78 A NPers. version is found together with the preceding section, cf. note to 77. [1] NPers. version *bi-nihuftad* (?) [2] MSS **BYN** (= *andar*, which can be spelled **'ndl**, identical in the script with ***xwgl**); NPers. version *andar* [3] ***ne-angad* *wehān**: spelled **n'šyngtwyx'n**; NPers. version *afzāyad yazdān* [4] B *jādag-gōwīh* [5] MSS **MN** [6] NPers. version *tuft-manišnī* [7] ***ne-angad* *weh**: spelled **n'šyngtwyx**; NPers. version *abā dīvān* [8] B **'ywk** [9] B **+ 'w** [10] B *āhōg-ez* [11] K *gōwēnd* [12] NPers. version *x^{v}aš-manišn* [13] NPers.

75

They held this too: There is no one more generous than Sirius, for there is no one who exercises generosity so well, in such an excellent and perfect manner as Sirius does.

76

They held this too: In the whole of this religion there is a word which is always one, it is this: Every person should enquire the reason both for a thing with which he is not in agreement and for that with which he is in agreement. [?][1]

77

They held this too:[1] There is no man born of a mother over whom these six spirits do not wage war: Wahman and Akōman, Srōš and Xešm, Spandarmad and the demon Tarōmad.

78

They held this too:[1] A man whose body is inhabited by Wahman[2] this is his mark. He is ardent as regards good works, has good relationship with the good, is easy[3] in [making] peace, is an advocate of the destitute good,[4] and is himself generous.

A man whose body is inhabited by Akōman, this is his mark. He is cool as regards good works, has bad relationship with the good, is difficult [in] making peace, is an adversary of the destitute good, and is himself [miserly].[5]

A man whose body is inhabited by Srōš, this is his mark. It is always possible to talk to him; when people talk he listens, when they report a fault [which he has] he accepts and disciplines it. He does not tell lies to people, and does not chastise an innocent person, and he chastises a transgressor with measure.

A man whose body is inhabited by Xešm, this is his mark. It is impossible at any time to talk to him; when people talk to him he does not listen, when they report to him even a small fault he is offended[6] and does not discipline it. He tells many lies to people, and inflicts much chastisement on an innocent person.

A man whose body is inhabited by Spandarmad, this is his mark. He has

abar rasēd [*K188v*] ēg-ez az[17] xīr[18] ī yazdān be ne wardēd, ud kirbag [*M488*] pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāhēd ne az gētīg.
ud ke druz ī tarōmad pad tan mehmān ēg-ez daxšag ēn ku sabuk-menišn[19] bawēd, u-š ka sārēnēnd sārihēd,[20] u-š ka andak-ez pad xīr ī gētīg bahr rasēd ēg-ez az *xīr[21] ī yazdān be ēstēd, kirbag pādāšn az gētīg[22] xwāhēd ne az mēnōgān.

79* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [*B380*] ardwahišt 7 māh pad gētīg ud 5 māh pad mēnōg. ud pad 5 māh ka pad mēnōg andar tan ī urwarān mēnōgīhā nišīnēd urwar[1] bun pāyēd ud parwarēd ud abzāyēnēd ud pad hān 5 māh urwar be dahēd. ud pad hān 7 māh ka pad gētīg ō bērōn tan ī urwarān āyēd ud urwar spēzēd[2] ud wiškōbēd[3] ud bar dahēd.[4] ēd rāy *ku[5] rapiθwin ī ardwahišt yazd gāh andar sāl 7 māh paydāgīh ud 5 ne.

80 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke [*K189r*] arg ud ranz ī dēn ud ēwēnag *kāmīhā[1] ō grīw padīrēd ēg-eš jud az hān[2] kirbag ī šāyēd dānistan[3] ēn-ez kirbag az-eš wēš bawēd ku pad-ez wināh ī kunihēd bīm ī az hān arg ud ranz rāy be ō mard-dogānīh (?)[4] ud ane wināh ī ēwēnag ī kard ēstēd ne wardēd, ce pad bahr ī xwēš arg ud ranz ī andar gēhān ne wizīrēd be ka barihēd ō grīw padīrift ēstēd.

81 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ke pad gētīg arg [*M489*] ud ranz ī pad hān ēwēnag ō grīw padīrēd, ēg jud-ez az kirbag ī az dīd ī hān arg ud ranz pad mēnōg[1] mēnōgān *pōzīh (?)[2] ī burd dārēnd ud az abārīg wināh ī kard ōgārēnd.[3]

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version *sarāyad* [14]B **s'lyt**; NPers. version *šāyast dar āyad* (?) [15]B *gētīgān* [16]B om. [17]B om. [18]B **BW** (for **CBW**) [19]NPers. version *bihān dušman-aš* [20]*sārēnēnd sārihēd*: NPers. version *sarāyad nā-šāyast sarāyad* [21]MSS **CYW**; NPers. version *xīr* [22]B *gētīgān*

79 *A NPers. version of this saying is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, 173, No. 21. [1]B *urwarān* [2]B om. [3]B **wškpyt'** [4]B + *ka pad* [5]MSS **AMT**

80 [1]*ēwēnag *kāmīhā*: MSS **'dwynk'myx'** [2]B om. [3]K **YD'YTWNyt** [4]B **mlcdwk'nyx**

81 [1]B om. [2]MSS **pwwcyx** [3]B **'ndlg**

reverence;[7] when he is incited he is not aroused; even when a large share falls to him from the things of this world he does not turn away from the things of the gods, and he desires the reward of good works from the spirits, not from the material world.[8]
A man whose body is inhabited by the demon Tarōmad, this is his mark. He is light-minded; when people incite him he is aroused; when even a small share of the things of this world falls to him he turns away from the things of the gods, and he desires the reward for good works from the material world, not from the spirits.

79

They held this too:[1] Ardwahišt is seven months in the material world and five months in the spiritual world. During the five months when he is in the spiritual world, he sits in the body of the plants in spiritual form, guards the root of plants, nourishes them and causes them to grow. He creates the plants during those five months. During the seven months when he is in the material world, the body of the plants comes out, and the plants bud forth and give fruit. This is because *rapiθwin*, which is the time of the god Ardwahišt, is in manifestation for seven months in the year, and for five months is not.

80

They held this too: A man who accepts upon himself willingly the toil and pain of religion and (accepted) custom, will have, in addition to the good works which it is possible for him to know about, also this virtue, namely, that for fear of that toil and pain (due to him) for a sin which he has happened to commit, he does not turn towards insincerity (?) and other sins against (accepted) custom which are being committed, because, for his own part, he has accepted upon himself the toil and pain which one has no choice in the world but to endure.[1]

81

They held this too: Whoever accepts upon himself in the material world the toil and pain which is for that (accepted) custom, the spirits, in addition to the virtue of having seen that toil and pain, will hold (for him) in the spiritual world the repentance (?)[1] which he did and deduct it from the other sins which he has committed.

82a u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku būd ke *ēn[1] pursīd ku kadām hān mēnōg ke mard az frārōnīh ō abārōnīh ud az abārōnīh ō frārōnīh[2] barēd. ud ērbadān guft ku ragīh (?). ud wehān pursīd ku [*K189v*] ragīh (?) andar tan ī[3] mardomān ce ast sar ayāb cašm ayāb gōš. ud ērbadān guft[4] ku ragīh-ez ciš ī andar tan ī mardomān ud wehān ne[5] dānist ku ragīh ce ast ud pas dānāg mad[6] hēnd ke[7] guft ku ragīh pad harw mardom kard ēstēd, ce hān ragīh ast ke ohrmazd xwānēd ud ahreman-ez xwānēd ud ka kāmēd[8] az pas ī[9] ohrmazd ī xwadāy šawēd [*B381*] ud ka kāmēd az pas ī ahreman šawēd.

82b u-šān pad gētīg handāzag ēd guft ku mardom hān ciš ī juttar ne kāmēd kardan ka-š was weh ud was[1] wattar juttar kardan aweš gōwēnd pas-ez juttar ne kunēd.

83 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke abar hān 2 ciš ēstēd kas nēst ke-š abāyēd ō ēwag ī didīgar ēdōn bawēd ku-š[1] ne tawān dānistan ku ce'ōn weh ud frārōntar. ce az[2] ēn 2 ēwēnag ēwag bawēd, ayāb xwad pad xrad ī [*K190r*] xwēš ō dānišn rasēd ayāb-eš dānāg hān aweš rasēd ī az-eš āgāh bawēd.

84 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku *ke[1] ērbadestān-ē frāz kunēd[2] [*M490*] u-š abar tuxšāg bawēd ud be gīrēd[3] abē-gumānīh ī pad dēn ī yazdān ēg-eš tawān ruwān[4] buxtan.

85 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abar bōzišn ī ruwān pad hangerdīg-tom ciš ēn ku a'ōn[1] kunēd ku yazd-yašt bawēd ne dēw.

86 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke zan ī *anabāy (?)[1] gāyēd pad tōhm[2] wanē kardan ēraxt ēstēd.

82a [1]MSS MN (= [ZN]H) [2]B *frārōn* [3]*tan ī*: B om. [4]B om. [5]K *rāy* [6]B om. [7]B + *pad-eš* [8]K + *ka kāmēd* [9]*pas ī*: B **AXLyw**

82b [1]B om.

83 [1]B *ku* [2]B om.

84 [1]K **ZNH**, B om. [2]or: *gīrēd* [3]or: *kunēd* [4]B om.

85 [1]B om.

86 [1]K **'nw'p'**, B 'nw'**p'd** [2]MSS **twm** (possibly for *tam* "dark")

82a

They held this too: There were some people who asked: "Which spirit is that which carries a man from righteousness to sinfulness and from sinfulness to righteousness?" The priests said: "*Ragīh* (?)".[1] The righteous asked: "What is *ragīh* in the body of people? Is it the head, eye or ear?" The priests said: "*Ragīh* is a thing in the body of men". The righteous did not know what *ragīh* was, and then there came wise men who said: "*Ragīh* was made in every man, for *ragīh* is that which both Ohrmazd and Ahreman call, when it wills it goes after Ohrmazd the Lord, but when it wills (otherwise) it goes after Ahreman".[2]

82b

They said concerning one who keeps the (right) measure of the material world:[1] A man who does not do differently that which he does not desire to do differently, even when he is being told through much good and much bad to do it differently.

83

They held this too: Of the people who possess these two things there is no man who has recourse to the one thing and who is unable to know with regard to the other thing which one is better and more righteous. For it is one of these two manners: either he comes by himself, through his own knowledge, to wisdom, or a wise man comes to him from whom he acquires knowledge.[1]

84

They held this too: Whoever attends a house of learning and is diligent with regard to it, and who learns (to know) the certitude with regard to the religion of the gods, he can save his soul.

85

They held this too: This is the word in the most succinct form concerning the salvation of the soul: Act in such a manner as to be worshippers of the gods, not of the demons.

86

They held this too: A man who unites with an improper (?)[1] woman is condemned for having wasted his seed.

87 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān hušyār bawišn ku tā-šān bēš abar pādexšāy ne bawēd ce ke bēš pad tan pādexšāy[1] bawēd ēg akōman andar ō tan nišīnēd ud ce'ōn akōman andar ō tan nišīnēd[2] ēg wahman az tan be šawēd ud ce'ōn wahman az tan be šawēd[3] ēg harw ciš pad akōman wēnēd ud akōman harw ciš hān ī wattar nimāyēd.[4] ud ke akōman parwānag[5] ēg-eš rāh [*K190v*] ō dušaxw ud ke ō dušaxw šawēd ast ī abāz āyēd ud ast ī abāz ne āyēd.

88 [*S vol. XI*] u-šān ēn-ez [*B382*] a'ōn dāšt ku gētīg amahraspandān pahrēz ī mahist ēn ka-šān[1] hān kas xwarēd ud dārēd ī pad hān ī xwarēd ud dārēd arzānīg.

89 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān kāmag tan ud abārīg ciš ī gētīg ī aweš rasēd. ud ka ō kāmag ī[1] tan ne sāzēd[2] pad ruwān sūdōmand-tar, ēg cārag ēn abēr-tar *ku[3] a'ōn nimāyēd ku im-rōz[4] ne be fradāg kunēm, ud pas rōz ī didīgar ud az hān frāz hān ciš pad ēmēd[5] [*M491*] frāz ō pēš spōzēd. ud ke a'ōn jahēd ku-š tawān rōz rōz pad hān ēwēnag spuxtan ud ne kardan ēg hān mardom ka az ēn gēhān be šawēd dēwān ud druzān abēr tund ud duš-rām bawēd ud ēn drāyēnd ku-š kirrōgīhā-z[6] kard ka amāh ciš pad-eš ne tawān būd kardan.

90 u-šān ēn-ez[1] a'ōn [*K191r*] dāšt ku mehīh az was ud az ēd-ez paydāg ku ēdōn ka andar gēhān asp ud gāw ud mēš ud buz ud abārīg sardag[2] ī gōspandān harw ce gušn meh mādag bar ī weh dahēd.[3] ud ce'ōn zarrēn ud sīmēn ud abārīg ayōxšustīg jāmag harw ce pāk-tar ud an-āhōg-tar ēg-eš wāng xwaš-tar, a'ōn mardom-ez ke[4] pākīzag-tar andar xīr ī yazdān ud an-āhōg-tar pad xwēš-tan ud awe ī keh weh dānēd dāštan ēg-eš srōš[5] wāng ī pahlom barēd ud pad mehīh arzānīg-tar bawēd.[6]

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87 [1]B *mehmān* [2]K *nišast*; B + *ce'ōn* [3]*ud ce'ōn wahman az tan be šawēd*: B om. [4]B om. [5]B plc'nk

88 [1]B + *āyēd*

89 [1]B + LA [2]B s'tyt [3]MSS AMT [4]K, here and in the following occurrences of *rōz* in this passage, spells the word like ZNH [5]B *ēmēdag* [6]B *kirrōgīhā*

90 [1]K *ēn* [2]K slytk', B sl'tk' [3]K + *dahēd* [4]B om. [5]B om. [6]B om.

87

They held this too: People ought to take heed that distress should not become master over them. For a man in whose body distress becomes master, Akōman settles in his body. When Akōman settles in the body, Wahman departs from it. When Wahman departs from the body, he sees everything through Akōman, and Akōman shows him everything that is evil. The way of a man whose guide[1] is Akōman leads to hell; of those who go to hell some return and others do not.

88

They held this too: The greatest service towards the material *amahraspands*[1] is when they are consumed and possessed by a person who is worthy of that which he consumes and possesses.

89

They held this too: The desire of men is the body and the other material things that accrue to it.[1] As it is of more benefit to the soul not to fulfil the desire of the body, this is the best stratagem: he should pretend (as follows:) "I shall do it not to-day but tomorrow", and then (postpone it) to the next day, and from then on put that thing off through hope. When it happens in such a manner to a man that he can put it off in this way day by day and not do it, when that man departs from this world the demons and the devils are extremely angry and dejected and shriek: "He acted skilfully indeed when we were not able to do anything to him".

90

They held this too: Greatness is manifest from many (things), and from this too: in the same way as in the world among horses, cows, sheep, goats and the other kinds of cattle, the bigger their male, the better offspring is given by their females; and in the same way as with vessels of gold, silver and other metals, the purer and the more faultless they are, the better their sound, so also with a man who is purer in the things of the gods and more faultless in himself, and who knows how to care best for the small ones, Srōš produces for him the best sound[1] and he is most worthy of greatness.

91 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku 5 ēn ciš[1] ī abēr nēwag ēn-ez ēdon: rādīh ud rāstīh ud mardābagīh[2] ud gōwāgīh ud frazānagīh.
rādīh ēd bawēd ke tan be ō[3] yazdān dahēd ēwāz[4] ruwān[5] dōšārm ud dēn rāy.
rāstīh ēd bawēd ke harw ī gōwēd hān gōwēd ī abāyēd guftan ud a'ōn pad nigerišn gōwēd ce'ōn ka-š yazd ud amahraspand wēnāftāg[6] pēš abāz [*B383*] ēstēnd.[7]
mardābagīh[8] [*K191v*] ēd bawēd āstawānīh, ud āstawānīh dēn pad tan ī xwēš mehmān kardan ud druz az tan ī xwēš staw kardan.
gōwāgīh ēd bawēd ke awe kas rāy [*M492*] jādag-gōwīh[9] kunēd ī ka-š hān ne jādag-gōw kas-ez jādag-gōw[10] nēst, ud hān kas ruwān ī xwēš rāy jādag-gōwīh kardan.
frazānagīh ēd bawēd ke ciš hān bun kunēd ī ō sar dānēd āwurdan.

92 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke pad ēn 3 paywand pad ēwag wināhgār druwand bawēd, ēwag paywand ī gēhān ud ēwag paywand ī dēn ud ēwag paywand ī fraškerd. paywand ī gēhān ēd bawēd hayyārōmandīh ud wišād-darīh ī ēwag abāg ō did paywandēd. paywand ī dēn ēd bawēd ke dastwar ī frārōn pad zamān[1] kunēd ud az dastwar be[2] ne wardēd. paywand ī fraškerd ēd bawēd ke zan pad zamān kunēd ud frazand xwāhēd ud paywand rāyēnēd.

93 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku zan ke ēn and daxšag [pad-eš] ast nārīg [*K192r*] bawēd. šōy-wirāyīh ud sūr-wirāyīh ud dar[1]-pānagīh ud xwēš-[wasta]rīh[2] ud tan ī xwēš ud gyāg[3] pāk dāštan. ud ke ēn and daxšag pad-eš bawēd jeh[4] bawēd: jādūgīh ayāb zamanīh (?) ayāb uzdēs-parastīh ayāb dušram-gōwišnīh ayāb rōspīgīh ayāb jud-wastarīh ud tan ī xwēš[5] ud gyāg pāk ne dāštan.

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91 [1]*ēn ciš*: K ZNH ZNH [2]B mlc'pwkyx, K mlt'pwkyx [3]B om. [4]B 'dwp' [5]B om. [6]B wynd'k W 'p' yn'pd'k [7]B *ēstēd* [8]B mlc'pwkyx; K mlt'pwkyx [9]B y'tgwbyx [10]B y'tgwbyx

92 [1]B xmyn' (?) [2]B om.

93 [1]B BRA [2]MSS NPŠHlyx (or pšmwlyx). The emendation is based on a contrast with *jud-wistarīh* further in the text. [3]B + pyt'k [4]MSS have superlinear gloss in Pazand: K *jah*, B *jih* [5]*ī xwēš*: B om.

91

They held this too: These five things are very good, namely: generosity, truthfulness, manly virtue,[1] eloquence, and sagacity.
Generosity is this: a man who surrenders himself to the gods solely for the sake of religion and love of the soul.[2] Truthfulness is this: a man who only says that which is necessary, and who speaks with such circumspection[3] as if the gods and the *amahraspands* visibly stop in front of him.
Manly virtue is this: confession of faith. Confession of faith means to accommodate religion in one's body and to vanquish the demons from it.
Eloquence is this: a man who intercedes on behalf of that person for whom there would be no intercessor but for him; (it means) to intercede for the sake of one's own soul.[4]
Sagacity is this: a man who begins a thing that he knows how to complete.

92

They held this too: A man who is a trespasser with regard to one of these three relationships is wicked. One, the relationship of the world; one, the relationship of religion; and one, the relationship of the Renovation.
The relationship of the world is this: being helpful and keeping one's door open; these things form relationships among people. The relationship of religion is this: a man who adopts a righteous authority[1] in time, and does not deviate from the authority. The relationship of the Renovation is this: a man who takes a wife in time, who seeks children and who provides (for himself) a family.

93

They held this too:[1] A woman in whom these several marks are found is a (proper) female: adorning the husband, adorning the table, guarding the gate (of the house), dressing (as appropriate to) herself,[2] keeping her body and place in cleanliness. A woman in whom these several marks are found is a whore: sorcery, divination (?),[3] idol-worship, gloomy talk,[4] prostitution, dressing strangely, not keeping her body and place in cleanliness.

94 u-šān ēn-ez[1] a'ōn dāšt ku ke may sēr xwarēd ud ēn and daxšag pad-eš bawēd ahlāyīh ast. ka rād-tar ud wahman-menišn-tar ud bawandag-menišn-tar[2] ud dānāg-gōwišn-tar bawēd.

95 [*M493*] u-šān ēn-ez [*B384*] a'ōn dāšt ku ast hān kirbag ī ke hān kirbag pad-eš mehmān ēg hān kirbag ī xwad kunēd ud hān ī andar gēhān kunēnd hāmōyēn xwēš bawēd. ud hān kirbag ēn[1] ham-pursagīh ī wehān ce az[2] ham-pursagīh ī wehān mard[3] yazd[4] šnāsēd ud dēw-ez be šnāsēd. ud ka-š yazd be šnāxt hēnd hagrez az yazd be ne wardēd ud ka-š dēw be šnāxt [*K192v*] hēnd az pas ī dēwān ne bawēd.

96 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ce duzd kunēd warz-ē ēn weh *ka[1] pad xēm [ī] yazdān andar gēhān be menēd.

97 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku šnāyišn ī tan ī wehān rāmišn ud niyāyišn ī yazdān. mardomān abēr tuxšāg bawišn ku tā[1] ēdar-ez abēzag be bawēm ce ka[2] amāh pad gētīg ēdōn be bawēm ku yazdān abar tan ī amāh ō gētīg āyēnd pas tan-ez ī amāh rāmišn bawēd.

98 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ērbadestān kardan be ne hilišn, ce ka was sāl ērbadestān abar ēn wāzag-ē[1] kunēd ku pad yazdān abē-gumān bawēd ku yazd hēnd ud dēw ne hēnd ēg-ez ohrmazd ī xwadāy puhl ne zanēd.

99 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abar ēn 3 ciš abēr tuxšāg bawišn abar rāstīh ud paymān ud wizīdārīh. ud az ēn 3 ciš abēr be wardišn az drōzanīh ud a-wizīdārīh ud a-paymānīh.

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94 [1]B *ēn* [2]B *menišnīh-tar*
95 [1]B + *pad* [2]K om. [3]B om. [4]B **yštn**
96 [1]MSS *ke*
97 [1]B om. [2]B *ke*
98 [1]B + **w'c**
99 [1]K repeats the figure (first time apparently crossed out)

94

They held this too:[1] A man who drinks himself full of wine and who has these several marks in him, has righteousness: if he is more generous, more peaceful, more humble, with wiser talk.

95

They held this too: There is a certain good deed which, when a man accommodates it within himself, the good deeds which that man himself performs and those that are being done in the world, all become his own.[1] That good deed is this: consultation of good people; for from the consultation of good people a man comes to know the gods as well as the demons. Once he has come to know the gods he will never turn away from them, and having come to know the demons he will not follow them.

96

They held this too: Whatever a thief does, this one action is good: when he contemplates the character of the gods in the world. (?)[1]

97

They held this too: The satisfaction[1] of the body of good people is joy and worship to the gods. People should make great effort so that we should be pure here too, for when we are in the material world in such a manner that the gods come to the material world upon our bodies, then there will be joy to our bodies too.

98

They held this too: Do not neglect to attend the *ērbadestān*. For when a man attends the *ērbadestān* for many years with this one knowledge, that he is certain with regard to the gods that they exist while the demons do not, Ohrmazd the Lord does not bring punishment upon him.

99

They held this too: Be very diligent with regard to these three things: Truth, the Measure, and Discernment.[1] Turn away strongly from these three things: lie, lack of discernment and lack of measure.

100 [*M494*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt [*K193r*] ku pad[1] a-cār ud ne wizīrēd ast ke rāy wināh kunišn. wināh ī pad a-cār ud ne wizīrēd kunišn dānistan abāyēd ku kadām, ce ēn ce[2] a-cār[3] ud ne wizīred ke weh-sazag (?)[4] ī wuzurgīh ud kāmag-rawāgīh[5] [*B385*] ī pad xīr ī gētīg ne rasēd ayāb rasēd ud az-eš ābār bawēd u-š ane-z[6] was anāgīh pad gētīg rasēd. ud a-cār ud ne wizīrēd ciš hān bawēd ī ka juttar ne kunihēd[7] ēg-eš ēn bīm az-eš ku az tan ī xwēš zīndag ud drust dāštan ne tawān. ud wināh ī pad a-cār ud ne wizīrēd kunišn hān ī ne anābuhragān. *ēnyā[8] wināh ī anābuhragānīh pad-ez a-cār ud ne wizīrēd ne kunišn.

101 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kāmag frārōn be kunišn ud pas gōwišn-ez ud kunišn-ez šāyēd abāg kāmag frārōn dārišn. ud ke a'ōn kunēd ka-š jahēd[1] ēn farroxīh ku pad-ez gōwišn ud kunišn ciš ī juttar pēšār (?) ne bawēd ēg pad ahlaw dārišn. ud ka-š a'ōn jahēd ku ciš ī juttar pēšār (?) bawēd [*K193v*] ēg-eš pad padīd bawišn ud pas-ez yazd awe mard ī pad hān ēwēnag pad āmār ī mēnōgān pad dēwān ne[2] hilēnd, be ēn gōwēnd ku amāh xwēš, ce hān mēnōg amāh dād, ēg-eš amāh mēnīd ud burzīd hēm, ud wināh awe druz kard ī tō dād. u-š pad hān cim ud bōzišn be ō xwēš nayēnd.

102 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mēnōg warrawišnīh was-ēwēnag [*M495*] ud ēn-ez mēnōg warrawišnīh bawēd[1] ke mēnōg pad ēd-ez warrawēnd ku-šān nēwagīh ī gētīg be ō mardomān dādan tawān u-šān nēwagīh ī gētīg az-eš xwāhēnd.

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100 [1]B om. [2]*ce ēn ce*: B **MND'M** [3]B *abārōn* [4]B **wyxstk'** [5]K **k'mklwb'yx** [6]B *ane xīr* [7]B *kunēd* [8]MSS **ADYNš**

101 [1]B **yxyyn'** [2]B + *dēwān ne*

102 [1]K *būd*

100

They held this too:[1] In a state of no choice and no escape there are people for whom it is necessary to commit a sin. It is necessary to know which is the sin which it is necessary to commit in a state of no choice and no escape. For that to which "no choice and no escape" (applies) is a respectable (?) man who has not attained greatness and the fulfillment of his desire in matters of the material world, or who has attained it but it was lost to him, and to whom much other evil has come in the material world. A thing of no choice and no escape is such that when a perverse action[2] is not done this fear results thereof, that he would not be able to keep his body alive and healthy. Only sin which is not unatonable should be done as a sin of no choice and no escape. One[3] ought not to commit an unatonable sin even in a state of no choice and no escape.

101

They held this too: One should make one's desire righteous; it is then possible to keep one's speech and action righteous together with one's desire. A man who does so, when this happy occasion arises to him, that a perverse action is not performed[1] either by speech or by deed, is to be regarded as righteous. When it so happens that a perverse thing is performed, he ought to be repentant of it. Then, in the trial of the spirits, the gods would not abandon a man such as this to the demons,[2] but would say: "(He is) our own, for that spirit was created by us: then he thought of us and praised us; (but) the sin was committed by that demon which you created". By that argument and excuse they will lead him to their own.

102

They held this too: Faith in the spirits is of many kinds. This too is faith in the spirits: People who believe that[1] the spirits are capable of giving the goodness of this world to men, and who seek the goodness of this world from the spirits.

103 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tan ī mardomān mādiyān ciš gōhr ud pas abārīg abzār. ud abzār pad ēd kār andar abāyēd-ez tā[1] gōhr paydāg kunēnd ud be ō kār āwarēnd.

104 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ciš nēst ī dušwār-tar šāyēd šnāxtan ku gōhr ī mardomān ku nēwag ayāb wad, [*B386*] ce was hān mardom ke gōhr a'ōn wināhīd [*end of K193v; fol. 194 lost*] ud wišuft ēstēd *ku[1] pad-ez abēr abēr kōdag dādestān abzār ud frahang was andar abāyēd tā ō paydāgīh šāyēd āwurdan ku nēwag ayāb wad. ud hān ī was[-abzār] hān xwār uzmūdan ud dānistan.

105 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku gōhr ī mardomān ciš-ē ēn abēr-tar šayēd šnāxtan ku ka frahang abar barihēd ud pad ciš ī frārōn āšnāg kunihēd ud wābarīgānīh dahihēd kirbag kunēd ayāb wināh ud ka *be[1] uzmūd ēg gōhr paydāg bawēd.

106 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard ka pad dēn ī yazdān ēstēd ēg-eš yazd ranzagīh ī andar ēn gēhān wēnēd *hān-ez[1] ī be ō ranz āmad pad pāy ud warzišnīh ī pad dast abar dādīhā zīwēd, ud *an-āsānīh[2] gursagīh-ez ud tišnīh ud andōh ud wīmārīh ī aweš rasēd pad āmār ī mēnōgān pad-ez-eš barēnd ud dārēnd.

107 [*M496*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wehīh ī wehān awe abāyēd ke wehīh pādāšn kunēd. gētīg wehīh hān ī az weh kāmag.

108 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān *3[1] ciš ī abēr nēwag ēn-ez ēdōn: hōm xwārišnīh ud may xwārišnīh ud *kōstag[2] barišnīh. hōm xwārišnīh ēd ka abar ox[3] ēstēd, ud may xwārišnīh ēd ka abar āštīh ēstēd, ud kōstag barišnīh ēd ka az wattarān jud bawēd.

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104 [1]MSS *ke*
105 [1]MS *pad*
106 [1]MS 'Dc [2]MS xw'dšnyx
108 [1]MS 4 [2]MS *kōst* [3]The reading *hāwan* is also possible

103

They held this too: The most important thing in the body of men is substance, and after it (come) the other faculties. The faculties are necessary even for this function, to manifest the substance and bring it into action.

104

They held this too: There is nothing which is more difficult to know than the substance of men, whether it is good or bad. For there are many people whose substance has been so much damaged and harmed that even in an extremely small matter much talent and education are necessary before it is possible to bring out whether they are good or bad. (But) it is easy to test and know the one who is of much [ability].

105

They held this too: It is possible best to know the substance of men by this one thing: when education is brought upon a man, and he is made acquainted with righteous things and is given certainty, (to see) whether he does good deeds or sins. Having been tested, his substance is manifest.

106

They held this too: When a man stands in the religion of the gods, the gods notice the pain endured by him in the world – even the fact that he came to pain by foot and that he lives lawfully on the work of his hands; and they carry and keep for him in the Reckoning of the Spirits the discomfort, hunger, thirst, worry and disease which affect him.

107

They held this too: The goodness of the good is required by him who gives reward for goodness. Material goodness is that which comes from good desire.[1]

108

They held this too:[1] People have three things that are very good. These are: drinking *haoma*, drinking wine and wearing the sacred girdle. Drinking *haoma* is this: when a man stands by mind.[2] Drinking wine is this: When he stands by peace. Wearing the sacred girdle is this: when he sets himself apart from the wicked.

109* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wehān ast ī pursīd ku parwand[1] ī tan ce ud parwand ī ruwān ce ud parwand ī xwarr ce. pōryōtkēšān guft ku parwand ī tan an-anbāsānīh[2] *[B387]* ud parwand ī ruwān a-wināhīh ud parwand ī xwarr pēš-niyāyišnīh.[3]

110 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān and ciš ī pahlom ēn-ez ēdōn: ōbārīh ī wēdwarīh ud ōbārīh ī nang ud ōbārīh ī wizīdārīh *[K195r]* ud kirbag pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan ud hāwištīh kardan. ce andar ēn ciš ciš-ē ēn[1] weh hāwištīh kardan, ce harw hān-ez 5 pad hāwištīh kardan šāyēd šnāxtan.

111 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka mard 2 pad wehīh ham-tāg hēnd[1] ud ēwag wēš warrawēd ku hān ī did, az ēd ka āgnēn jud-gōhr hēnd be, ēd be abāyēd nigerīdan ku ce rāy ēdon, ce ka ne nigerēd *[M497]* ēg-eš xīr ī mēnōg pad-eš be kāhēd ēd rāy ce hān ī did kam menēd.

112 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku gastag mard xwad kunēd, ce agar mard kunišn frārōn, ēg-eš yazd abar rasēnd ud a'ōn dārēnd ce'ōn hān ī pad awe mard[1] nēwag-tar.

113* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān 7 ciš ī pahlom, ēn-ez ēdōn: husrawīh ud ahlāyīh ud āzādīh[1] ud xwadāyīh ud pādexšāyīh ud drustīh *[K195v]* ud šnāyišn. husrawīh ēd bawēd ke bāstān dar abar wehān[2] wišād[3] dārēd. ahlāyīh ēd bawēd ke kirbag ruwān rāy kunēd. āzādīh ēd bawēd ke dāšn ō wehān ud arzānīgān kunēd. xwadāyīh ēd bawēd ke tan az wināh kardan abāz dārēd.[4] pādexšāyīh ēd bawēd ke dārišn ī wehān ud a-rōyišn[5] ī wattarān kunēd. drustīh ēd bawēd ke tan ud ruwān az anōdag ud jud-gōhr[6]

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109 *A NPers. version is found in M55, M52; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 171. [1]M55, M52 *parand* [2]M55, M52 *ba-āsānī* [3]M55, M52 *pēš-i mard-i nēk namāz*

110 [1]B om.

111 [1]*ham-tāg hēnd*: divided differently in B

112 [1]B + **nywk'l**

113 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171, No. 9. [1]M55 *āδādī*, M52 *āzādī* [2]B + *šnāyišn* [3]B *šāyēd* [4]*xwadāyīh ēd bawēd. . .abāz dārēd*: B om. [5]*ud a-rōyišn*: K **ww'lwdšn**, which might perhaps be read differently. M55, M52 **p'dhfr'h** (= MP. *pādefrāh*). Cf. also **118**. [6]*tan ud ruwān. . .jud-gōhr*: NPers. version *az tan ruvān-i jud*

109

They held this too: Among the good some asked: "What is the enclosing wall[1] of the body, what is that of the soul, what is that of fortune?" Those who adhere to the original faith said: "The enclosing wall of the body is lack of conflict; that of the soul lack of sin; that of fortune homage (?)"[2]

110

They held this too: To men there are several things that are best. These are: abundance[1] of patience, abundance of shame, abundance of discernment, asking reward for good deeds from the spirits,[2] and being a disciple. Of these matters the best thing is being a disciple, for it is possible to learn even all those five by being a disciple.[3]

111

They held this too: When two men are equal in goodness, and the one believes more than the other, it is necessary for him, except[1] when they are of different substance, to consider for what reason it is thus. For when he does not consider it, that which pertains to the spirit diminishes in him because the other person believes less.

112

They held this too: It is a man himself who does an unpleasant thing[1] (to himself). For if a man's action is righteous the gods come to him and keep him in such a way as is most salutary for that man.

113

They held this too: People have seven things which are best. These are: Good fame, righteousness, nobility, lordship, authority, health and satisfaction.

Good fame is this: a man who always keeps his door open to good people.

Righteousness is this: a man who performs good works for the sake of the soul.

Nobility is this: a man who gives presents to the good and the worthy.

Lordship is this: a man who restrains himself from doing sin.

Authority is this: a man who causes the preservation of the good and the uprooting of the wicked.[1]

judāg ud abāg xwēš ham-gōhr ham dārēd. šnāyišn ēd bawēd[7] ke pad nēwagīh ī mad ēstēd mēnōgān yazdān bawandag menēd[8], u-š yazd šnāyišn ī ne mad [*B388*] ēstēd abar *ōh[9] barēnd ud anāgīh ī abar mad ēstēd az-eš be barēnd u-š bāstān az ox nēwag āyēd.[10]

114* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān ciš-ē ēn pahlom: mardom-dōstīh [*K196r*] ud āšt-xwāhīh ud rāstīh ud xwēšāwand-dārīh[1] ud bawandag-menišnīh[2] ud ēr-tanīh[3] ud rādīh ud hu-spāsīh[4] ud ham-pursagīh ud paymānīgīh. dād ī ohrmazd mardom[5]-dōstīh, dād ī wahman āšt-xwāhīh,[6] dād ī ašawahišt rāstīh, dād ī [*M498*] šahrewar xwēšāwand-dārīh,[7] dād ī spandarmad bawandag-menišnīh ud ēr-tanīh,[8] dād ī xurdad rādīh ud hu-spāsīh, dād ī amurdad ham-pursagīh ud paymānīgīh.

115* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān[1] and ciš ī abēr nēwag, ēn-ez ēdōn: dēn ud xēm ud xrad ud hunar ud xwarr, u-š ka abzār ī xwēš ne abāg ō ciš-ez[2] mar ne rasēnd.[3] dēn abzār ēd bawēd ke āstawān, ud āstawānīh ēd ke dōst ī hu-xēm ī pāk ī weh-mard[4] pad tan ī xwēš pādexšāy kunēd ud gōwēd ku āhōg ce dānēh *gōw[5] tā wirāyēm, ud ce gōwēd tēz [*K196v*] ud pad-kāmag niyōšēd ud framān-burdār bawēd.[6] xēm abzār[7] ēd[8] bawēd hōg ī frārōn ud abāg

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gauhar [7]K om. [8]*bawandag menēd*: NPers. version *bi-dānad* [9]MSS **'L** [10]The last phrase is different in NPers. version; v. ibid.

114 *A NPers. version is found in M55, M52; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171 f., Nos. 10-11. Another NPers. version (closer to the Phl.) is in *Pers. Riv. Hormazyar*, I, 487; trsl. Dhabhar, 332 f. (this version begins with *dād ī ohrmazd*). cf. also **E 45 h.** [1]M55 *x^{v}īšān-kāriš* [2]M55 *x^{v}aš-manišnī* [3]M55 *īr-tanī ya'nī adab ast* [4]M55 *va-sipāsdārī*, glossed in M52 by *šukrāna* [5]K **mltm'n** [6]B *āštīh*; PersRiv *āxštī* [7]K **xwwš'wndd'lyx**; M55 *x^{v}īškārī*; PersRiv *x^{v}īšāvand-dārī* [8]*bawandag-menišnīh ud ēr-tanīh*: M55 *x^{v}aš-maniš ēr-tanī*; PersRiv *ēr-manišn banda-manišn*

115 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171, No. 6. Cf. Also **E38a**, where the same text occurs with some variants. [1]B + *ēn* [2]B + *ne* [3]*u-š ka abzār ī xwēš ne abāg. . .ne rasēnd*: NPers. version *avzār-i īn panj čīz ba-yakdīgar na-rasand* [4]B + *ē* [5]MSS **YMRRWN'd** (which can also be interpreted as *gōw tā*, giving a dittography of *tā* in the text) [6]*dēn abzār ēd bawēd. . .framān-burdār bawēd*: For this phrase cf. NPers. version. [7]B om. [8]B *hān* [9]B *kas* [10]*xwēš-kārīh ud tuxšāgīh*:

Health is this: a man who separates his body and soul from aliens and those of different substance,[2] and who associates with those of the same substance as himself.

Satisfaction is this: a man who holds the spiritual gods in reverence for a good thing which has come and the gods bring him satisfaction which has not come to him and take away from him misfortunes which have come to him, and to whom good always comes from the mind.

114

They held this too:[1] This thing is best for men: love of men, desire for peace, truthfulness, support of one's kinsmen, reverence, humility, generosity, gratitude, consultation and keeping the measure.

The law of Ohrmazd is love of men;

the law of Wahman is desire for peace;

the law of Ašawahišt is truthfulness;

the law of Šahrewar is support of one's kinsmen;

the law of Spandarmad is reverence and humility;

the law of Xurdad is generosity and gratitude;

the law of Amurdad is consultation and keeping the measure.

115

They held this too:[1] People have several things which are very good, these are: religion, character, wisdom, virtue and fortune. When they are not accompanied by their instruments, they are of no account.[2]

The instrument of religion is this: a man who has faith. Confession of faith is this: a man who takes a friend of good nature, pure and a good man, to be master over himself, says (to him): "Tell me the faults which you know, so that I may correct them", listens eagerly and willingly to what he says, and obeys him.

The instrument of character is this: righteous habit, associating with good people, learning good from every person and not learning evil from any one.[3]

The instrument of wisdom is this: maintaining good people and being respectful to them.[4]

The instrument of virtue is this: doing one's duty and diligence.

The instrument of fortune is this: truth and keeping one's word.[5]

wehān raftan ud welīh az harw kas griftan ud wattarīh az harw kas-ez[9] ne griftan. xrad abzār ēd bawēd dārišn ud tarsagāhīh ī wehān, hunar abzār ēd bawēd xwēš-kārīh ud tuxšāgīh.[10] xwarr abzār ēd bawēd rāstīh ud humihrīh.[11]

116 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mēnōgān yazdān se ciš ī abēr nēwag, ēn-ez ēdōn: dōšārm ud tarsagāhīh ud ēmēdag.

117 u-šān [*B389*] ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān abzār 2 ēn pahlom, xwad weh būdan ud awe ī did weh kardan.

118 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mehān ud pādexšāyān 2[1] ciš ī pahlom, ēn-ez ēdōn: dārišn ī wehān ud a-rōyišn[2] ī wattarān kardan.

119 [*M499*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēwagānag ciš ēn weh, āškārīh[1] ī pad menišn ud gōwišn [*K197r*] ud kunišn ēd rāy ce wināh pad nihān kunihēd ne kirbag.

120 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ruwān pad[1] 4 ciš abēr šāyēd buxtan, ēn-ez ēdōn: pad spāsdārīh ud nihādagīh[2] ud waran-waštārīh ud āhōg-ōgārīh.[3]

121 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ruwān pad hōg ī frārōn ud xwāstag pad spihr ud hunar pad tuxšāgīh.

122* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad dēn ēn a'ōn uskārd[1] ēwag dōšārm [ī yazdān ud ēwag dōšārm][2] ī dehbadān ud ēwag ēn ke tan andar[3] āmār rāmišn ud az wināh pāk dārēd, ud yazišn ī yazdān pad[4] škōyišn[5] dastwar[6] kunēd.

123 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke[1] māndag garzēd ohrmazd ī xwadāy ud amahraspandān ud dehbadān ud ahlawān ud wehān ke zād[1] ud ke zāyēd āfrīn kunišn ud ahreman ud dēwān ud wattarān nafrīn kunišn.

NPers. version *ba x^{v}īškārī-ye x^{v}īš mašγūl bāšad* [11]NPers. version *himmat* (?)

118 [1]B *3* [2]cf. note 5 to **113**.

119 [1]B *āšķāragīh*

120 [1]B + **LBA MN** [2]**B n'štyx** [3]B **'šwk'wk'lyx**

122 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 171, No. 7. [1]M55, M52 xwš**k'rydn** *ya'nī mašvarat kardan*; B + **'ywp** [2]The enclosed portion has been done into Pahlavi from M52, where alone it occurs. [3]B om. [4]B om. [5]*pad škōyišn*: M55, M52 **bškwhš** [6]M55, M52 *dastūrān*

123 [1]*ku ke*: K *ke ku*; B + **MN** [2]*ke zād*: B om.

116

They held this too: The spiritual gods have three things which are very good, these are: love, respect, and hope.[1]

117

They held this too: These two instruments are best for men: to be oneself good and do good to others.

118

They held this too:[1] The great ones and the rulers have two things which are best, these are: to cause the preservation of the good and the uprooting of the wicked.

119

They held this too:[1] For obedience this is the best thing, openness in thinking, speaking and acting, because a sin is done in secret, but not a good deed.

120

They held this too:[1] It is possible to save the soul well by these four things; gratitude, meekness (?),[2] turning away from lust and the removal[3] of faults.

121

They held this too: The soul is (governed) by righteous habit, wealth by sphere and skill by diligence.

122

They held this too: In religion this is considered thus: one, love for the gods; one, love for the chiefs; and one is this, a man who keeps himself joyful in the reckoning[1] and free from sin, and who takes as authority the worship of the gods in awe.[2]

123

They held this too: He who confesses a sin[1] ought to bless Ohrmazd the Lord, the Amahraspands, the chiefs, the righteous and the good ones who have been born and who will be born, and to curse Ahreman, the demons and the evil ones.

124* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy pahlom-tom[1] xēm[2] ud dēn dād. ke xēm[3] [*K197v*] nēst awe[4] dēn nēst, ud ke weh[5]-dōstīh[6] nēst awe wehīh[7] nēst, ud ke wehīh rāy wehān[8] dōst awe wehīh[9] ast.

125 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [ke] kāmēd [ku] xwarrōmand bawēd xwaršēd gōwizār ēw yazēd. ke kāmēd ku yazišn ī kunēd ō yazdān abēr-tar rasēd dast pāk ēw šōyēd ud xwēš tan ud wastarg pākīzagīhā ēw dārēd. ud ke [*B390*] kāmēd ku [*M500*] *ciš[1] ī az yazdān xwāhēd abēr-tar windēd yazišn ī yazdān gōwizār ēw kunēd. ud ke xwāhēd ku andar[2] anjaman saxwan weh rasēd abastāg ī pad[3] camišn gōwizār ēw gōwēd.

126 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke škeftīh ī mad ēstēd ud hān-ez ke ne mad ēstēd rāy andar yazdān tarsagāh bawēd, hān ke mad ēstēd az-eš bōzēnd ud hān ke ne mad[1] ēstēd fradom aweš ne rasēd.

127* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn [*K198r*] dāšt ku andar zīndagīh ī mardomān šnāyišn weh ud andar šnāyišn tan-drustīh weh.
didīgar xēm weh ud andar xēm āstawānīh ī abar rāst dēn weh.
sedīgar xrad weh ud andar xrad burdīh ud nihādagīh[1] weh.
cahārom[2] tawānīgīh weh ud andar tawānīgīh hunsandīh ud arzānīgīh weh.
panjom rāmišn weh ud andar[3] rāmišn zan ī kadag-bānūg ī tarsagāh[4] ud šōy-dōst weh.
šašom dōstīh[5] weh ud andar dōstīh[5] ēwagānīh weh.
haftom rādīh ī pad rāstīh weh ud andar rādīh ī pad rāstīh meh-sūd-dahišnīh [weh].[6]
haštom[7] jud-ez az bōzišn ī xwēš ruwān abar[8] bōzišn ī ruwān ī kasān tuxšīdan weh.[9]

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124 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 171, No. 5. [1]B *pahlomīh-tom* [2]glossed in M52 *xaṣlat* [3]glossed in M52 *xaṣlat-i nīk* [4]NPers. version *va* [5]B *wehīh* [6]*weh-dōstīh*: NPers. version *bih-dīn-i māzdēsnān dōst* [7]NPers. version *bihdīn* [8]NPers. version *bihdīnān* [9]NPers. version *bihdīn*

125 [1]MSS MHš [2]B + 'wcyn' [3]B om.

126 [1]B mnw

127 *A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 173, No. 19. [1]B nx'pkyx; NPers. version *nihād-i buzurgān* [2]B cx'l'n [3]B MN [4]*kadag-bānūg ī tarsagāh*: B *tarsagāh ī kadag-bānūg*; NPers. version om. *tarsagāh* [5]B dwwstyx (= *drustīh*?) [6]K, B om.; *bih* in NPers. version [7]B + MN [8]B ms [9]*haštom...weh*: NPers. version *pākī-i x^{v}īš ruvān*

124

They held this too: Ohrmazd the Lord created the best character and religion. A man who has no character has no religion; a man who has no friendship of the good[1] does not possess goodness. A man who is a friend of the good for the sake of goodness, possesses goodness.

125

They held this too: [He who] wishes to be endowed with fortune, let him worship the sun openly; he who wishes that the worship which he performs should reach the gods best, let him wash his hands clean and keep his body and clothes in cleanliness; he who wishes (to obtain) in the best way the thing which he desires of the gods, let him worship the gods openly; he who desires that his word should come well in the assembly, let him recite the Avesta of Urination[1] openly.

126

They held this too thus: A man who shows reverence towards the gods in connection with a misfortune which has come or with one which has not come, the gods will save him from that which has come, and the one which has not come will not reach him in the first place.

127

They held this too: In the life of man satisfaction is best, and in satisfaction bodily health is best.

Secondly, character is best, and in it the profession of the true religion is best.

Thirdly, wisdom is best, and in it patience and meekness[1] are best.

Fourthly, wealth is best, and in it contentment and worthiness are best.

Fifthly, joy is best, and in it a woman who is a respectful housewife, loved by her husband,[2] is best.

Sixthly, friendship is best, and in it obedience is best.

Seventhly, generosity through truth is best, and in it giving great benefit [is best].

Eighthly, apart from the salvation of one's own soul, it is best to strive for saving other people's souls.

*nohom[10] kirbag kardan ud az wināh pahrēxtan, kirbag meh-dādestānīhā abēr-tar kardan ud az wināh, ud az wināh grāyīdan, wēš pahrēxtan[11] weh. dahom nēwag [*K198v*] frazāmīh weh ud andar nēwag frazāmīh[12] bōzišn ī ruwān az[13] dušaxw weh.

128 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlamōgīh az-ez zamān abēr [*M501*] be pahrēzišn ud awe-z ī abēr nigerīdār ud dānāg mard wistāxw ne bawišn ku-m[1] ādug hēnd bastan. ce ēn xāk ī a'ōn xurd[2] ud narm[3] hāmōyēn az sag ī saxt ī stabr be[4] [*B391*] kard ēstēd.

129 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku druz pad kadag[1] ī xwēš xwāhišn ne pad hān ī kārān, ce ke pad hān ī xwēš xwāhēd windēd, ud ka-š kāmēd tawān az kadag be kardan, ud ke pad hān ī kārān xwāhēd ne windēd.

130 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku druz az hān gyāg be kunišn ī ka az hān gyāg be kard az hamāg ēn gēhān[1] be kard bawēd.[2] ud yazd-ez pad hān gyāg mehmān kunišn hēnd ī ka pad hān gyāg mehmān kard pad hamāg ēn gēhān mehmān [*K199r*] kard hēnd. ud hān gyāg ēd tan ud dūdag ī xwēš.

131 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas gyāg [ī] ēw nay abar ēstēd pad wirāstan. ud ka hān gyāg [ī] ēw nay wirāst ēg-eš hamāg gēhān[1] wirāst bawēd, ud ke hān gyāg [ī] ēw nay ne wirāst ēg-eš ciš-ez gyāg wirāstag nēst. u-šān[2] hān gyāg [ī] ēw nay tan ī xwēš guft.

132 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān 4 ciš ī abēr nēwag, ēn-ez ēdōn: nān ī xwēš ud saxwan ī xwēš ud kār ī xwēš ud zan ī xwēš. nān ī xwēš ēd bawēd ke bahr ī xwēš xwarēd ud dārēd, a'ōn xwarēd ud dārēd ce'ōn kār kunēd. saxwan ī xwēš ēd bawēd ke ruwān ī [*M502*] xwēš jādag-gōw. kār ī xwēš ēd bawēd ke abāg druz ī xwēš kōšēd ne abāg druz ī kārān, ce[1] ardīg-

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va-pākī-i ruvān-i kasān x^{v}āstan bih [10]MSS W B̲YN; NPers. version *nuhum* [11]*kirbag meh-dādestānīhā. . .pahrēxtan*: NPers. version om. [12]*weh ud andar nēwag frazāmīh*: B om. [13]B MNš

128 [1]K AYK MN [2]K xwltn' [3]K 'LH [4]B + *be* (at the beginning of the next page)
129 [1]K krtk'
130 [1]B om. [2]B om.
131 [1]B om. [2]B +*ēn-ez*
132 [1]B QDM

Ninthly, to do good deeds in great accordance with the law, and much to avoid sin and inclination to sin is best.

Tenthly, good completion is best, and in it the salvation of the soul from hell is best.

128

They held this too: With regard to heresy, one should also much beware from (the passage of) time. Even a very careful and wise man should not be confident, (thinking:) 'Are they capable of binding me?' For this dust, which is so small and soft, has all been produced from hard and solid stones.[1]

129

They held this too:[1] One should search for demons in one's own house, not in that of other people. For he who searches in his own house finds, and when he desires, he can drive them out of his house; but he who searches in the houses of other people does not find them.

130

They held this too: One should banish the demons from that place from which, once they are banished, they are banished from the whole of this world. The gods, too, should be made to abide in that place where, once they abide, they abide in the whole of this world. That place is one's self and one's family.

131

They held this too:[1] A person sets forth to repair a one-fathom (?) place. When he has repaired that one-fathom (?) place, he has repaired the whole world. A man who has not repaired that one-fathom (?) place, no place belonging to him is in order. They said: that one-fathom (?) place is one's own body.

132

They held this too:[1] People have four things which are very good, these are: one's bread, one's word, one's work and one's wife. One's bread is this: one who eats and keeps his own share, eating and keeping it in the same way as he does his work. One's word is this: one whose soul is an intercessor. One's work is this: one who fights his own demons, not those

kāmag bawēd ke abāg druz ī kārān kōšēd. [*K199v*] ud zan ī xwēš ēd bawēd ke pad harw ahlāyīh ham-kāmag.

133 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt [*B392*] ku ke ēdar abāg wehān anōh abāg yazdān, ud ke ēdar abāg wattarān anōh abāg dēwān. ud ēdar abāg wehān ud wattarān būd[1] ēd būd ī guft ke pad menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn abāg ham.

134 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy harw zīndag mardom pad ēn and ciš[1] andar ō abāyēd pad[2] gung wāng wēnišnīh ud madagīh.

135 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy harw dām ēn-ez 2 sūd rāy dād, ēbgad pad-eš absihēnīdan ud gugāhīh ī xwēš rāy.

136 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar harw gāh kāmag ī xwēš be wizīnišn ud abāg hān ciš ī andar šahr pad frārōnīh ud abārōnīh[1] ēwar kard ēstēd be handāzišn ku frārōn-kāmag ayāb abārōn-kāmag [*K200r*] hēm, u-š agar nūn[2] kāmag[3] ī xwēš frārōn ham-gōnag abar ēstišn, ud agar juttar ēg az-eš be wardišn.

137 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas xwāhišn xīr ī yazdān, ce harw ke xwāhēd windēd.

138 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēn and[1] ciš [*M503*] abēr nigāh dārišn: mard ī hu-sraw, rōz ī hu-sraw ud kār ī hu-sraw.

139 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlāyīh daxšag-ē ēn abēr-tar paydāg: husrawīh wēš.

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133 [1]B *bawēd*
134 [1]B MNND'M [2]B + 'w'
136 [1]B *abārōn* [2]*agar nūn*: B XTwk' [3]K 'mk'
138 [1]B + *nigāh*

of other people, for he is a seeker of battle who fights against the demons of other peole.[2] One's wife is this: one who shares his desires in every righteous thing.

133

They held this too: A man who is here with the good will be there with the gods; a man who is here with the wicked will be there with the devils. "He was here with good and wicked people" – there was one who said this: with whomsoever one is (associated) in thought, speech and deed, one is the same (as that person).[1]

134

They held this too: Ohrmazd the Lord requires of every living man these several things; of a deaf person, the sight and memory of sound(?).[1]

135

They held this too: Ohrmazd the Lord created every creature for these two benefits: to destroy the adversary by them, and (for them) to serve as His witnesses.

136

They held this too: A man should at all times distinguish his desire and consider with regard to things which have been ascertained in the world as righteousness or wickedness: "Am I of righteous or of sinful desire?" Now, if his desire is righteous, he should stand by it; if otherwise, he should turn away from it.

137

They held this too: Every person ought to seek the things of the gods, for whoever seeks finds.

138

They held this too: One ought to pay much heed to these several things: a man of good fame, a day of good fame and a work of good fame.

139

They held this too: This one mark of righteousness is most manifest: it has more good fame.

140 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw[1] kas *ke[2] husrawīh wēš gōwēnd ku hān ī[3] pad kunišn [*B393*] wehīh *paydāg[4] az ēd bawēd *ku[5] frārōnīh cand tawān kunēd u-š pad kāmag a'ōn ku-m kāž wēš tawān hēh. ud harw mardom ke[6] dusrawīh[7] wēš gōwēnd ku hān ī pad kunišn wattarīh paydāg az ēd bawēd ku anāgīh cand tawān kunēd u-š pad kāmag a'ōn ku kāž wēš [*K200v*] tawān hēh kardan. pad anjaman ī mēnōgān awe mardom ī pad hān ēwēnag hān nēwagīh[8] ud anāgīh ī-š ne kard[9] kāmag[10] rāy[11] kard[12] hangārēnd ud andar gēhān pad dahān ī mardomān be srāyēnd.

141 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad andarz [ī] ō mardomān ēdōn guft ēstēd ku driyōšīh pahlom ud pad miyān kunēd, u-š saxt abar driyōšīh ī pahlom ciš [ēstēd]. ud ke ne a-cārīh be ēwāz wehīh ud burzišn ī driyōšīh rāy[1] pad driyōšīh *ul[2] ēstēd, awe ahreman abāg[3] māzandagān az gēhān be kard bawēd ud harw kirbag ī andar gēhān pad awe dārišn šawišn ce'ōn rōd ī hamēšag nāw.[4] ēd-ez a'ōn ku pad driyōšīh awe[5] ul tawān ēstādan ke pad[6] ce pad ēn tan andar abāyēd az hān ī[7] xwār-mādag-tar rāmišn wēš ku az hān ī wēš-mādag-tar.[8] ud ke a'ōn kunēd awe pad driyōšīh farrag[9] tawān [*M504*] ēstādan, ud ke juttar kunēd awe az [*End of K200v; next folio lost*] driyōšīh damān(?)[10] be kard bawēd.

142 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku āzād-mardīh ēd bawēd ke tawān-abzārīh ī gētīg padēxw ud bawandag andar kār ī sūd dārēd ud dānēd *xwardan[1] ud *dādan.[2] tawān-abzār[īh] awe rāy ud kasān ne[3] anāg, be *pad *ce[4] rasēd driyōšān jādag-gōw, u-šān nēwagīh pad-eš kunēd. awe ī driyōš *ōh[5] *burzēd[6] ud a'ōn kunēd ku harw mardom cašmagīh [*B394*] ud xwāstag-tawān[īh] awe rāy *wišād[7] ud pad-xwēš dārēnd ud wistāxw hēnd ku agar-mān anāgīh ud škeftīh aweš rasēd ēg hān cārag xwāhēd be burdan.

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140 [1]K **KAY**; B om. [2]MSS **MN** [3]B + **w'c** [4]MSS *paydāgīh* [5]MSS **AMT** [6]B **MN** [7]B **xwslwbyx** [8]*hān nēwagīh*: K om. [9]B om. [10]K **k'm'k** [11]B **LA** [12]B **KRA**

141 [1]B **LA** [2]MSS LA (presumably for **LALA**, as in **E30a**) [3]B om. [4]MSS **n'p'** [5]B **'L** [6]B om. [7]B + **x'k** [8]B **wyšmtgtl** [9]thus MSS; for **frēh?* [10]B **ym'n**

142 [1]B *xwarēd* [2]B *dahēd* 3B **l'd** [4]B **PWMH** (= *dahān*), presumably for **PWN MH** [5]B **'L** [6]B **wwlcyt** [7]B **š't**

140

They held this too: Every person of whom more good fame is spoken than the good which is manifest in his action, that is from this, that he performs righteousness as much as is in his power, and his desire is thus: "Would that I had more power!"

Every person of whom more ill-fame is spoken than the evil which is manifest in his action, that is from this, that he does evil as much as is in his power and his desire is thus: "Would that I had more power to do!"

In the assembly of the spirits the good or the evil not done by that man who is in that manner is considered as done according to his desire, and they speak it out in the world through the mouths of men.

141

They held this too: It has been said in the *Andarz* to men.[1] Poverty is best, make provision of it. Stand firm in poverty, which is the best thing. A man who stands in poverty not out of constraint but solely because of the goodness and praise of poverty banishes Ahreman and the demons from the world. Every good deed which may be held in the world by that (man) would proceed like a river which is always navigable (?).[2] And this too is thus: He can stand in poverty who has more joy in the scantest substance which is necessary for the body than in the bulkiest substance. One who acts thus can stand fortunate in poverty, and he who acts differently will be made to issue forth (?)[3] from poverty.

142

They held this too:[1] Nobility is this: One who holds the powerful means of the material world, prosperous and satisfied, for beneficial work, and who knows (how) to consume and to give them. The powerful means are not harmful to that man or to (other) people.[2] In whatever comes about he is an advocate for the poor and does good to them.[3] He praises the poor[4] and acts in such a manner that (his) wealth and riches are open to all men, and that they hold them as their own and are confident: "If evil or misfortune come to us, he will seek a remedy to carry it away."

143 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku driyōšīh ēd bawēd ke tawān xwāstag ī gētīg rāy tan padēxw ud bawandag, ud ox az-eš āhangīg, menišnīg pad-eš hunsand, ud tund ne andar bawēd, ud andar awe ī cašmag tawānīg ne tar-menišn be a'ōn kunēd ku abāg caśmagīh ud tawānīgīh ī awe driyōšīh ī man pas-ez hān ham ku an hēm.

144 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku karabīh ēd bawēd ke tawān abzār ī gētīg ī bawandag mad ēstēd a-paymānīhā xwarēd ud dārēd. cašmagīh ud tawānīgīh awe rāy ud kasān anāg, andar awe ī driyōš ud hunsand mardom tar-menišn, u-šān xwār ud sabuk kunēd ud driyōšīh pad anāgīh dārēd. mardomān ēn ēmēd aweš nēst ku agar-mān anāgīh ud škeftīh aweš rasēd ēg hān cārag *xwāhēd[1] be burdan.

145 [*M505*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku škōhīh ēd bawēd ke *tawān[1] xwāstag ī gētīg bawandag nēst, pad-eš ana-hunsand, xwēš-tan pad duš-farrag dārēd ud andar awe ī *tawānīg[2] ud cašmag tar-menišn, xwad hamēšag ō *cašmagīh[3] ud tawānīgīh kōšēd.

146 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku petyārag 4 ast, 2 ī āzād-mardān tawānīgān ud 2 ī driyōšān kam-tawān-xīrān. ka [*K202 bis, r*] hān petyārag *ne[1] hēh āgnēn pad kirbag ham-tāg bawēnd āzād-mardān ud [*B395*] driyōšān. petyārag ī āzād-mardān tawānīgān ēwag driyōšīh ne burzīdan, ud ēwag driyōšān must ne wizārdan. ud hān ī driyōšān ēwag tar-menišnīh [rāy] ne āmōxtan ī mehān pad ciš ī ruwān, ud ēwag gilag-menišnīh.

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144 [1]B *xwāst*
145 [1]B **tww'n'** [2]B *tawānīgīh* [3]B *cašmīh*
146 [1]MSS **l'd**

143

They held this too:[1] Poverty is this: One whose self is prosperous and satisfied as regards the powerful wealth of the material world, whose mind turns away from it (?), whose thought is content in it, who is not angry concerning it, and who is not contemptuous of a man who is wealthy and opulent, but acts in this manner (thinking): "My poverty is together with the wealth and riches of that man. After all, we are the same, he and I."

144

They held this too:[1] The condition of a *karab* is this: One who, without regard for the measure, consumes and holds the powerful means of the material world which have come (to him) completely. (His) wealth and opulence are harmful to that man and to other people. He is contemptuous of poor and contented people, makes them light and worthless, and regards poverty as harmful. People have not this hope in him, namely: "If evil or misfortune come to us, he will seek a remedy to carry it away."

145

They held this too:[1] The condition of a *škōh* is this: One to whom the powerful wealth of the material world is not sufficient, and who is discontented by that, holds himself as unlucky, is contemptuous of a man who is opulent and wealthy, though he strives constantly himself towards wealth and opulence.

146

They held this too: There are four adversaries, two of the noble wealthy and two of the poor indigent. But for these adversaries they would be both equally virtuous, the noble and the poor. The adversaries of the noble wealthy are: one, not to respect poverty, and one, not to relieve the oppression of the poor. The adversaries of the poor are: one, being too contemptuous to instruct the opulent in matters of the soul, and one, plaintive thought.

147 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku[1] agar driyōšān ēn ciš-ē be wirāyēnd tarmenišnīh ī andar mehān tawānīgān,[2] ēg pad satō-zem-ē ēwag[3] ō dušaxw ne rasēnd.

148 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar ēn gēhān[1] kas-ez nēst ke xwadāyīh ud xwāstag āzarmīg, hān ī farrox pad frārōnīh ud hān ī duš-farrag harw rāh[2] abāyēd.

149 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xīr ī gētīg a-paymān ne ārāyišn, ce gētīg-a-paymān-ārāy mard[1] mēnōg-wišōb[2] bawēd.

150 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xīr ī gētīg and ārāyišn cand xīr ī mēnōg ne wišōbēd.

151 [*M506*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xīr ī [*K202 bis, v*] gētīg a'ōn pad āwām kunišn ce'ōn ka dānēh ku 1000 sāl zīwēm ud ce im-rōz ne kunēm ēg-eš[1] fradāg kunēm. ud ciš ī mēnōg a'ōn hamēšag menišnīhā ud tuxšāgīhā kunišn ce'ōn ka dānēh ku ēwag[2] rōz zīwēm ud ce im-rōz ne[3] kunēm ēg-em pas ne tawān kardan.

152 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad xīr ī gētīg wēšīgān wistāxw ud niruzd ne bawišn, ce xīr ī gētīg kas-ez[1] bawandag-tar ne bawēd ku yim[2] ud yim-ez harw rōz ī raft kam būd ud abdom[3] hāmōyēn xīr ī gētīg az-eš ābār, ud abastān ēwāz[4] ō ruwān būd.

147 [1]MSS + BYN [2]K twb'nyk' [3]B 'xwk
148 [1]B yzd'n [2]K l'd'
149 [1]*ārāy-mard*: B *mard ārāy* [2]*mēnōg-wišōb*: B *wišōb mēnōg* (second word above the line)
151 [1]B om. [2]B om. [3]B om.
152 [1]B + byk [2]B om. [3]B *abdom-ez* [4]B 'ywp

147

They held this too: If the poor set right this one thing, the contempt of wealthy people of high standing, in a century not one of them will go to hell.

148

They held this too: In this world there is no one whose authority and wealth are loved. One who is fortunate should (be loved) through righteousness, and a person who is unfortunate should (be loved) in any way.

149

They held this too: One should not embellish the things of the material world in excess of the measure. For a man who embellishes the material world in excess of the measure becomes a destroyer of the spiritual world.

150

They held this too: One ought to embellish the things of the material world to such an extent (only) as not to destroy the things of the spiritual world.

151

They held this too: One ought to do the things of the material world in time,[1] in such a way as if one knew: "I shall live a thousand years, and what I do not do to-day I shall do tomorrow." One ought to do the things of the spiritual world in thought and effort constantly in such a way as if one knew: "I shall live one day, and what I do not do to-day I shall not be able to do later."

152

They held this too: One ought not to be overmuch confident or feeble concerning the things of the material world; for the things of the material world have never belonged to any one more completely than to Yima, and even with Yima they diminished with every day that passed; ultimately he lost all the things of the material world, and his sole trust was in the soul.

153 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēn 3 xēm garōdmānīg: ēwag ēn ke ka[1] was-ez[2] [*B396*] *ziyān[3] ud anāgīh az kas dīd ēstēd ēg-ez awe mard[4] dušman ud anāgīh-kāmag [ne][5] bawēd. ēwag ēn ke[6] xwarišn-ē[7] pēš mad ēstēd ud wēš nēst ud frāz ō pēš[8] ēmēd ne dārēd[9] ku-m [wēš] aweš rasēd, [*K203r*] agar-eš mard ēn[11] *ka[12] zan-ē ud mard-ē pad wiškar gyāg mad ēstēnd u-šān xwarišn xward sēr hurām ēstēnd u-šān ēwag ō did abēr kāmag bawēd ud ka kāmag be rāyēnēnd ēg-ez kas-ez ne dānēd ud awe[13] mard hān zan ēwāz ruwān rāy ne gāyēd.

154 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xēm hān bawēd ke[1] wināh [*M507*] ne kāmēd kardan. xrad hān bawēd[2] ī ka kāmēd ēg-ez ne hilēd. hān-ez[3] xēm[4] bawēd ke hān ī ne dānēd ne[5] gōwēd, ud hān-ez xrad bawēd ī ka ne dānēd ōh pursēd.

155 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku yazd[1] harw kas-ē pad ciš ī xwēš ēmēd aweš dārēnd be awe ke xrad nēst.

156 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke xwadāyīh ud xwāstag[1] xwāhēd ud aweš rasēd ud andar sūd ud nēwagīh ī mardomān dārēd, hān yazdān andar gēhān [*K203v*] pādexšāy[2] kunēnd. ud ke pad driyōšīh ud hugārīh ul[3] ēstēd ud padeš pad rāmišn, hān yazdān ō gēhān astēnēd.

157 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard ke kēgīh ud karabīh andar nēst ēg cand xwadāy-tom weh.

158 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kōdag kirbag wēšīgān ne kunišn ce ke kōdag kirbag wēšīgān kunēd[1] [*B397*] ēg wuzurg kirbag az-eš ābār bawēd.

153 [1]B om. [2]B *was* [3]MSS **zx'k** [4]B om. [5]supplemented on the basis of **E31g** [6]B *pad* [7]B *xwarišn* [8]B om. [9]B + *ēg-eš* [10]B **ptyxw** [11]B om. [12]MSS *ke* [13]B *hān*
154 [1]B MN [2]B om. [3]B + *ne* [4]B + *hān* [5]K **l'd**
155 [1]B **y'twkyx**
156 [1]B + *ke* [2]B ŠLYT' [3]K + *ul*
158 [1]*ce ke kōdag kirbag wēšīgān kunēd*: B om.

153

They held this too:[1] These three characters belong to paradise.

One is this, a person who has seen much harm and evil from another man, yet does [not] become an enemy and an evil-wisher to that man.

One is this, a person in front of whom there is some food, and no more, and he has no hope for the future, namely, "[more] will come to me", (yet) if a man comes to him who has had no food first, he shares this meal[2] (with him) as is proper.

One is this, when a woman and a man come together in an uninhabited place,[3] and having eaten they are full and merry, and have much desire for each other, and if they fulfilled their desire no one would know, yet solely for the sake of the soul that man does not unite with that woman.

154

They held this too: Character is this, one who does not desire to commit a sin; wisdom is this, when he desires (to commit a sin) yet does not let himself. Even that is character, one who does not say that which he does not know; even that is wisdom, when he asks about that which he does not know.

155

They held this too: All people have hope in the gods in their own matters, except for those who have no wisdom.

156

They held this too: Whoever desires authority and wealth and attains it, keeping them for the benefit and good of men, the gods make him a potentate in the world. Whoever stands in poverty and beneficence,[1] being at peace in it, the gods establish him firmly in the world.

157

They held this too: A man in whom the vices of *kavi* and *karab* are not found, the more authority he has, the better.

158

They held this too: One ought not overmuch to perform petty works of virtue,[1] for whoever performs petty works of virtue overmuch will lose the great work of virtue.

159 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahlamōgīh daxšag ēd ke wuzurg kirbag kōdag ud kōdag kirbag wuzurg uskārēd.

160 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kirbag ī kōdag nihumb ī bazag. ce stabr bazag ī kunihēd kōdag kirbag rāy kam paydāg ud ō wirāyišn[1] kam rasēd.

161 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku was hān kirbag ī a'ōn kōdag ī ka abēr abzār mard-ē be kunēd pad-eš ahlaw [*M508*] ne šāyēd būdan. ud wāzag hān ī a'ōn wuzurg ī ka ēwag mard-ē kunēd ēg pad-eš ahlaw bawēd. [*K204r*] ud *amāh[1] mardomān abēr tuxšāg abāyēd *būdan[2] ku tā-mān kirbag ī wuzurg xwēš bawēd.

162 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas ox-ē ast ud ka awe kas ox drust ud abē-wizand ēstēd [ka-z ciš ī wattar (?) gōwēd ud kunēd][1] ēg hān ciš *pad-ez-eš[2] pad miyān. ud ka juttar, ka-z ciš ī abē-rīman[3] ud abēr xūb gōwēd ud kunēd ēg hān ciš wišuft bawēd.[4]

163 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn ox zardušt, ahlāyīh ox mānθr, ud ērīh ox dehbadīh.

164 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ciš zreh-ē ast. dānišn zreh xēm ud rōšnīh zreh[1] xwaršēd ud āb zreh vorukaš ud ruwān zreh ox.

165 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abēr xwāhišn dōst ī pad dēn. ce dōst ī hamē abāg hān ī pad dēn dōst, ce hān[1] [*B398*] ke pad dēn dōst ēdar ud anōh harw do abāg.

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160 [1]K wyl'd'n'
161 [1]MSS LWTH [2]MSS *bawēd*
162 [1]Supplemented by analogy to the second part. The phrase *hān ciš* that follows seems to allude to such a portion of the sentence as is supplemented here. [2]K **PWN MND'M**; B om. [3]K **pylymnn'** (*pērāmūn*?) [4]B + *ēg hān*
164 [1]B + *āb zrēh*
165 [1]B om.

159

They held this too: The mark of heresy is this, one who thinks of the great work of virtue as petty and of the petty work of virtue as great.

160

They held this too: A petty work of virtue is a hiding of sin. For a grievous sin which is committed is less manifest on account of the petty work of virtue and one comes less to set it right.

161

They held this too: Many are those works of virtue which are so petty that (even) if a man performs very many of them he is unable to become righteous through them.[1] And (there is) that word which is so great that (even) if a man performs (only) one he becomes righteous through it. We men should be very diligent so that the great works of virtue may become ours.

162

They held this too: Every person has a mind. When the mind of that person is healthy and free from damage[1] [even if the man says or does something bad (?)] that thing is yet available to him. When (the mind is) otherwise, even if the man says or does something very good which is free from defilement, that thing is destroyed.

163

They held this too: The mind of religion is Zoroaster, the mind of righteousness is the sacred word, the mind of Iranian dignity is the position of the ruler.

164

They held this too:[1] Every thing has a sea. The sea of knowledge is character, the sea of light is the sun, the sea of water is Vorukaš and the sea of the soul is mind.

165

They held this too: One should strongly seek a friend in religion. For a friend who is always with one is a friend in religion. For a friend in religion is with one in both (worlds), here and there.

166 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas dēn hān ke-š[1] tan[2] pad-eš warrawēd be abspārdan. [*K204v*] be[3] nigerišn andar kāmag ī xwēš ku hān ciš ke tan-abspār pad-eš warrawēd kardan ce. ud dēn cand ciš andar ke tan-abspār pad-eš kunišn. awe kas pad dēn ōstīgān ke pad harw ciš ī tan-abspār pad-eš [*M509*] kunišn ka rasēd tan abspārēd. ud hān and ciš ke tan-abspār pad-eš kunišn wināh ī anābuhragān ne kardan. ēd ke dēn ud zan ud frazand ud ahlawān ērbadān ud abārīg wehān rāy ka rasēd tan abspārēd.

167 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad[1] ēn dēn wāzag-ē abēr mādiyān ēn-ez ēdōn: abē-gumānīh ī pad dēn ī yazdān. abē-gumānīh ī pad dēn ī yazdān ēd ke agar bazag pad bazag be brīnēnd ēg-ez az xīr ī[2] yazdān be ne ēstēnd.

168 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka mard-ē 1000 **mltyn'**[1] be kunēd ud pad-eš abaxš ud pad padīḏ hēh[2] ud a'ōn gōwēd ku[3] pas-ez ahreman xwēš ne bawēm be a'ōn kunēm ku ohrmazd [*K205r*] xwēš bawēm ēg ahreman kam pad xwēš dārēd ud kam[4] ō xwēš tawān hēh kardan ce'ōn mard-ē wināh ī abēr xwardag pēšār (?) bawēd ud awe wināh rāy az[5] kirbag staw bawēd ud gōwēd ku man nūn kirbag ce ka[6] pas-ez[7] ahreman xwēš hēm.

169 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt [*B398*] ku mard-ē hāmōyēn mardom ī andar ēn gēhān pad druwand be xwēš-tan ne pad druwand be pad ahlaw, ud a'ōn dārēd ku ohrmazd xwēš hēm, ēg ahreman kam[1] ō xwēš barēd ce'ōn mard-ē a-cār ud andak wināh ī xwad gōwēd[2] ku an druwand hēm. ce pad gētīg ka was-ez mard pad wattarīh ī mard-ē hamēmār hēnd ēg-ez hagrez wattarīh ī awe kas ēdōn spurrīg ne šāyēd dānistan ce'ōn ka mard-ē [*M510*] xwad wattarīh[3] ī xwēš gōwēd.

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166 [1]B **MNW** [2]B om. [3]K om.

167 [1]B *ke* [2]*az xīr ī*: MSS **MN CBWA (= MNc BRA)**

168 [1]B **mlt'n'** [2]B om. [3]B om. [4]B **kwm** [5]B **ZNH** [6]*ce ka*: B **MNW** [7]B *pas*

169 [1]B om. [2]B *gōwēm* [3]B + *gōwēd*

166

They held this too: To every person religion is that for which he believes (he would) surrender his self. One ought to consider in his desire what that thing is for which he believes (he would) surrender his self, and religion is the several things for which the surrender of self is to be made. That person is steadfast in religion who surrenders himself when a thing comes for which he ought to surrender his self. However, as regards those several things for which the surrender of self ought to be made, one should not commit an unatonable sin. This is (that): one who surrenders his self, when the need arises, for the sake of religion, wife, children, righteous preceptors and other good people.

167

They held this too: In this religion one word has much substance, it is even thus: Being free from doubt concerning the religion of the gods. Being free from doubt concerning the religion of the gods is this: those who, come what may (?),[1] do not turn away from the things of the gods.

168

They held this too:[1] When a man commits a thousand crimes (?), and is contrite and repentant of them, saying: "Even after this I am not in Ahreman's possession; I shall act in such a manner as to be in Ohrmazd's possession" – Ahreman holds him less as his own, and has less power to make him his own, than is the case with a man who is guilty of a very minor sin, and who, on account of that sin, is incapable of doing good deeds, and who says: "That is to me now a good deed, for I am now after this in Ahreman's possession".

169

They held this too: A man whom all the people in this world hold as wicked, and who holds himself to be not wicked but righteous, and who maintains: "I belong to Ohrmazd" – Ahreman carries him less to his own than a man of little sin, committed under compulsion,[1] who himself says: "I am wicked". For in this world even when many people oppose a man's wickedness, it is never possible to know the wickedness of that person as completely as when he himself pronounces his own wickedness.[2]

170 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke pad ziyān ud anāgīh mad ud awe did az yazdān āyāft [*K205v*] xwāstār bawēd ēg mēnōg warrawišnīhā, ēd rāy ce[1] agar-ez kār a-dānīhā ne frārōn ēg-ez yazd warrawēnd ku-šān ciš ī weh ud wattar tawān[2] kardan.

171 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēn andak ud was ud nazdīk ud dūr ud xwār ud dušwār hān ī frazānag weh dānēd.

172 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku rāh ī ō garōdmān dēn paymān. ud ka ohrmazd hān rāh wirāst, ēg-eš ahreman 2 rāh abāg frāz nihād, ēwag frēhbūd ud ēwag abēbūd, u-š ēn harw iā ō tam wirāst ud az hān wēš ne[1] tawān wirāstan.

173 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku farrox ō mard ke pad rāh ī šāh rawēd ce *ka-z[1] abēr nihānīhā rawēd[2] ēg-ez pad zamān ō xān rasēd. ud duš-farrag awe mard ke pad rāh ī abē-rāh[3] rawēd, ce cand tuxšāgīhā-tar ēg ō xān dūr-tar. ud rāh ī šāh dēn ud xān wahišt.

174 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt [*K206r*] ku ruwān paymān tawān ne tawān. xwāstag [*B400*] paymān wizīristan[1] ne wizīristan.

175 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wizīristan ud ne wizīristan ciš kasīhā wardēd. ast ī ne wizīrēd[1] be [*M511*] ka weh-sazag (?) ast (?)[2] ud zarrēn ud asēmēn ud abārīg xwāstag bawandag dārēd. ast ke wizīrēd ka tar gāw ēw-tāg ārzōgē[3] frāz ne šawēd.

176 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn hāmōyēn wizīristan,[1] ce[2] wizīrēd ka wināh ne kunēnd[3] ud ne wizīrēd be ka kirbag kunēnd.

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170 [1]B om. [2]B + tn'
172 [1]B repeats *ne*
173 [1]MSS *ke-z* [2]B om. [3]MSS 'p'l's
174 [1]K wcyl'stn'
175 [1]K wcylst'; B wcylstn' [2]B 'stk' [3]K 'lck'y
176 [1]B + *ud ne wizīristan* [2]B QDM [3]*ne kunēnd*: B *kunēnd ne*

170

They held this too: A man who, having come into harm and evil, yet desires a boon from the gods, (acts) with faith in the spirits. The reason for this is that although the action (of such people) is unrighteous out of ignorance, they believe the gods to be able to do good and evil.

171

They held this too: The wise man knows well this: little and much, near and far, easy and difficult.

172

They held this too: The road to paradise is the religion, which is the measure. When Ohrmazd paved this road, Ahreman at the same time laid two roads, one excess and one deficiency. He set them each to (the limit of) darkness; from that point on he can set no more.

173

They held this too: Happy is the man who walks on the king's road,[1] for even though he should walk with much gravity (?),[2] he will come to the house on time. Unfortunate is that man who walks on a pathless road, for no matter how much he may exert himself he will still be farther from the house. The king's way is the religion and the house is paradise.

174

They held this too: As regards the soul, to be able with measure is not to be able; as regards possessions, to dispose of them with measure is not to dispose.

175

They held this too: The matter of disposing or not disposing varies according to people. For some people there is no power to dispose unless they are respectable (?) and possess a sufficient amount of gold, silver and other property. Some people have the power to dispose even when their desire does not go beyond one head of cattle.

176

They held this too: There is power of disposition (only) over the whole of religion. There is power of disposition when people do not commit sins, and there is no power of disposition unless they perform good works.

177 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad-ez xwāstag kardan ciš-ē ēn weh ke[1] tuxšāg hugār[2] ud hunsand bawēd.

178 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom 4 ēwēnag hēnd 2 uzmāyišn[1] ud 2 ne uzmāyišn. hān 2 ēwēnag ī uzmāyišn ēwag hān ī abāg wehān weh ud ēwag hān ī abāg wattarān wattar. ce šāyēd ud bawēd *ku[2] [*K206v*] hān ke abāg wehān būd ēstēd ka ō wattarān[3] [rasēd] wattar, ud hān ke abāg wattarān būd ēstēd ka ō wehān rasēd [weh]. ud 2 ēwēnag ī ne uzmāyišn ēwag hān ī abāg wehān būd ud pas-ez wattar ud ēwag hān ī abāg wattarān būd ud pas-ez[4] weh.

179 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom ciš ī abēr nēwag hōg ī frārōn, ce hōg xēm be bawēd ud xēm dēn bawēd.

180 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard hān farrox-tar ke ēn xīr ī gētīg ī ēdōn frasāwand andar ō hān ī a-frasāwand gumēzēd ku ka az gētīg sazēd pad mēnōg bawēd.

181 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn [*B401*] dāšt ku pad dēn wāzag 4 ī [*M512*] abēr mādiyān, ēn-ez ēdōn: hān ī wināhgār pad wināh ne awwēnīdan, ud hān ī *druz[1]-dādestān mard xwadāyīh ud xwāstag rāy ne burzīdan, ud kirbag-pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan, ud hāwištīh kardan. mādagwar [*K207r*] hāwištīh kardan, ce hān-ez harw pad hāwištīh kardan be šnāsihēd.

177 [1]B om. [2]or *hu-dār*?
178 *An Arabic version is found in Misk. 75.10-15. [1]*2 uzmāyišn*: B repeats [2]MSS *ka* [3]B *wattar* [4]B *pas*
181 [1]MSS **dlwndc**, but cf. *druz-* in **14, 182.**

177

They held this too: As regards the production of property,[1] too, this one thing is best: a man who is diligent, beneficent (?) and content.

178

They held this too:[1] People are of four kinds: two should be tested and two need not be tested. The two kinds which should be tested are: one, a man who, being with the good, is good, and one, a man who, being with the wicked, is wicked. For it is possible and it occurs that the man who has been with the good will become wicked when he associates with wicked people, and the one who has been with the wicked will become good when he associates with good people. The two kinds which need not be tested are: one, a man who has been with good people and is still bad; and one, a man who has been with wicked people and is still good.

179

They held this too: To people the thing which is exceedingly good is righteous habit. For a habit becomes character, and character becomes religion.

180

They held this too: That man is most fortunate who mixes this thing of the material world, which is transient, with that which is intransient, so that when he passes away from the material world he may become of the spiritual world.

181

They held this too: In religion there are four sayings which are of much substance. These are: Not to reproach a sinner for a sin;[1] not to praise a deceitful man for the sake of authority and wealth;[2] to seek the reward of good deeds from the spirits;[3] and to be a disciple. The most important is to be a disciple, for all those too become known through being a disciple.[4]

182 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēn 3 wāzag [ī] ōstag[1] (?) wēš abāyēd ku hāmōyēn abastāg ud zand: ēwag hān ī wināhgār pad wināh [ne][2] awwēnīdan, ud ēwag hān ī druz-dādestān mard xwadāyīh ud xwāstag rāy ne burzīdan, ud ēwag kirbag-pādāšn az mēnōgān xwāstan ne az gētīg.

183 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn[1] dāšt ku ke wāzag ī ne dānēd rāy[2] gōwēd[3] ku dānēm, ēg awe wāzag gōhrīg rāy 1000 wāzag ī dānēd az-eš be šawēd.

184 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ke nēst agar dānēd ku ne hēm hēh.

185 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku arzānīg bawišn, ce farrox hān ī arzānīg, ēnyā (?) dēn dānēd ku ciš ku ud ō ke barišn. ce harw 2 dēn xwēš hēnd, mēnōg ud gētīg, ud weh-ox-tar-ez bawēd ka ciš ō arzānīgān [*K207v*] dahēd[1] az spanāgīh ud dānāgīh[2] ud šādīh ud ābādīh ud padēxw ī pad dēn.

186 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar tan-ē xēm wēš ku harw zāz ī pad kōf ud dašt. andar-ez hān tan ēg hān xēm [*M513*] ī ka awe xēm pēšobāy kunēd ēg hāmōyēn xēm be ō[1] frārōnīh wardēd.

187 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān rāy dar wišād dārišn ce ke[1] mardomān dar wišād ne dārēd ēg-eš mardom ō xānag [*B402*] ne rasēnd, ud ke mardom ō xānag ne rasēnd ēg-eš yazdān[2] *rasišn[3] ō xānag nēst, ud ke yazdān *rasišn[4] ō xānag nēst ēg-eš xwarr ne bawēd. ce mardom az pas ī nān hēnd ud yazdān az pas ī mardom hēnd ud xwarr az pas ī yazd ast.

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182 [1]B **xw'stk'** [2]for the addition of *[ne]* cf. **14, 181.**
183 [1]B repeats [2]B **LA** [3]B *gōwēm*
185 [1]B om. [2]B *dānāg*
186 [1]B om.
187 [1]B **MN** [2]B repeats [3]MSS *dārišn* [4]MSS **YXMTWNd** 'n'

182

They held this too: There is more need for these three firm (?)[1] words than for the whole of the Avesta and Zand: one, [not] to reproach a sinner for his sin:[2] one, not to praise a deceitful man for the sake of authority and wealth;[3] and one, to seek the reward of good deeds from the spirits, not from the material world.[4]

183

They held this too:[1] A man who says of a thing which he does not know: "I know (it)", in exchange for that saying there will depart from him a thousand things which he does know.

184

They held this too:[1] If that which is not, knew: "I am not", it would exist.

185

They held this too: It is necessary to be worthy, for a worthy man is happy. Besides (?), he knows the religion, (namely), where a thing is and to whom one ought to bring it. For both religions are his, the spiritual one and the material one, and he becomes possessed of better mind when he gives to worthy people something of the bounty, knowledge, joy, prosperity and abundance which are in religion.

186

They held this too: In a person there is more character than all the grass[1] which is found on hills and plains. There is also in that person a certain character which, when it takes the lead, turns all character into righteousness.

187

They held this too:[1] It is necessary to keep the door open to people. For when a man does not keep the door open to people, people do not come to his house. When people do not come to someone's house, the gods do not come to his house. When the gods do not come to someone's house, no fortune adheres to him. For people are after bread, gods are after people, and fortune follows the gods.

188 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abēr tuxšišn ō ham-rasišnīh ud ham-xwarišnīh ī abāg wehān[1], ce agar dānēh kas ku ce'ōn nēwag ham-rasišnīh [*K208r*] ud ham-xwarišnīh ī abāg wehān[2] ka ciš a'ōn ne mad ēstēd ī ō wehān šāyēd[3] dādan, ēg-ez nān ī xwēš stānēh ud andar ō wehān šawēh ud abāg wehān be xwarēh.

189 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku rāmišn a'ōn pad niwāzišn[1] dārišn ce'ōn rahīg-ē aburnāyīg ud a'ōn abar tuxšišn ku hagrez rāmišn az tan be ne šawēd. ud ka rāmišn hān ciš xwāhēd ī-š ka ō kāmag sāzēnd wināh, ēg hān ciš ne be ane ciš ī ka kunēnd rāmišn abzāyēd, ud ne wināh kunišn ī pas-ez rāmišn az tan be *hilēd.[2] ce rahīg-ez ī aburnāyīg was hān ka hān ciš xwāhēd ī ka-š ō kāmag sāzēnd wināh ī abēr stabr az-eš bawēd, u-š pad gōhrīg ī hān ciš a'ōn xwār-gōn ciš ce'ōn xurrāg-ē [*M514*] ayāb gōz-ē ayāb ane ciš dahēnd ī pad-eš hunsand ud pad rāmišn bawēd.

190 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt [*K208v*] ku mardomān hušyār bawišn tā-šān rāmišn andar tan mehmān bawēd, ce xwāstan ud wizustan[1] ī andar dēn ud kirbag hān rāmišn nām.[2]

191 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku šnāyišn[1] [*B403*] hān ke bēš az pas nēst.

192 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku šnāyišn ī yazdān rāmišn[1] ī tan ī wehān.

193 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tan andar[1] rāmišn ud dast az wināh abāz dārišn, ce [ke] tan andar rāmišn ēg wahman pad tan mehmān, ce'ōn[2] wahman pad tan mehmān ēg wināh dušwār kardan. ud az bēš abēr pahrēzišn ce ke bēš andar ō tan hilēd ēg-eš akōman andar ō tan šawēd, ud ke akōman andar ō[3] tan šawēd ēg ciš ī frārōn dušwār kardan.

188 [1]K *weh* [2]*ce agar dānēh kas. . .ham-xwarišnīh ī abāg wehān*: B om. [3]B om.
189 [1]B APš'n [2]MSS *hilišn*
190 [1]MSS wcstn' [2]spelled ŠM; could be read *dām*
191 [1]B + *ī yazdān rāmišn* (presumably by influence of the phrase in 192).
192 [1]B + W GDH (= *ud xwarr*) (presumably by influence of the combination in 193).
193 [1]*tan andar*: B *andar tan* [2]B + *ēg-eš* [3]B om.

188

They held this too: One ought to strive much towards meeting good people and eating with them. For if a person knew how salutary it is to meet good people and to eat with them, if there was nothing available that he could give to the good, he would take his own bread, go to good people and eat with them.

189

They held this too:[1] One ought to keep joy with such fondness[2] as (one keeps) a young boy, and to strive so that joy should never depart from his body. When joy requires a thing from which, when its desire is granted harm (may ensue), (he ought to do) not that thing but another one from which, when it is accomplished, joy increases, and not to do harm as a result of which joy departs from the body. For there are many occasions with young children too when they desire a thing from which, if their desire is granted, very grievous harm would ensue. As a substitute for that thing they are given an edible object, such as a date or a nut or some other thing by which they become content and joyful.

190

They held this too: People ought to take care so that joy may dwell in their body, for desiring and seeking in religion and good deeds – that is the name of joy.

191

They held this too:[1] Satisfaction is that after which there is no distress.

192

They held this too: The satisfaction of the gods is the joy of the body of good people.

193

They held this too:[1] It is necessary to keep one's body in joy and to hold one's hand back from doing harm. For a man whose body is in joy, Wahman dwells in his body, and when Wahman dwells in the body it is difficult to commit sins. It is necessary much to beware of distress, because when a man lets distress penetrate his body, Akōman penetrates it, and when Akōman penetrates it, it is difficult to perform righteous actions.

194 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku 2 [ciš] ī nēwag ēn-ez ēdōn: āhōg-wirāyīh ud waran waštārīh.

195 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw wehīh[1] bar rāmišn, harw anāgīh bar bēš.

196 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku rāmišn mādiyān hunsandīh[1] ud bēš mādiyān [*K209r*] ana-hunsandīh. ce ka ohrmazd ī xwadāy pad nēwagīh ī-š ast ne hunsand hād, ēg-eš ne nēwag[īh] hād, ud agar ahreman pad anāgīh ī xwēš[2] ne ana-hunsand hād ēg-eš ne anāgīh hād.

197 [*M515*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hunsand-xīrān ana-hunsand[1] xrad ud dānišn.

198 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard ke[1] mēnōg ī āz ud ārzōg ō tan rasēd u-š xīr ī gētīg kāmag nimāyēd ēg cārag ēn abēr-tar ka mard frasāwandīh ī tan ud xīr ī gētīg ō xwēš nimāyēd, ud ēn menēd ku hugār ku[2] kard, be ce kunēm ka zūd be hištan abāyēd. az nūn frāz ne kunēm ku-m tā duš-šarmīh ī az [hān] be *ēstēd[3] aweš ne rasēd. ce xīr ī gētīg ne kard was xwār-tar ku be hištan.

199 u-šān ēn-ez [*B404*] a'ōn dāšt ku purr-xrad mard hān ī harw gāh frazām ī gētīg ayād ēstēd.

200 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xwār xīr ī gētīg, ce[1] andar ēw rōz[1a] šāyēd [*K209v*] būdan[2] *ku[3] mard [ī] *dīg[4] drust ud kārēgar[5] ud dūr-ēmēd, pēš az 6 zaman wīmār ud a-kārag[6] ud an-ēmēd ēstēd ud pēš az šabān mīrēd, ud ast-ez ī rōz ī didīgar[7] ne bawēd ka *pad[8] zamīg gumēxtēd xāk bawēd.

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195 [1]B yxyx
196 [1]B + XWH [2]B om.
197 [1]B *anahunsandīh*
198 [1]B *pad* [2]B *ku-m* [3]MSS *ēstēnd*
200 [1]B QDM [1a]K (throughout the section) ZNH (= YWM') [2]K *bawēd* [3]MSS *ka* [4]MSS MXL (= *fradāg*) [5]B *nūn* [6]B 'kn'lk'

194

They held this too:[1] There are these two good things: the correction of faults and the reversing of unlawful desires.

195

They held this too: The fruit of every goodness is joy, the fruit of every wickedness is distress.

196

They held this too: The most substantial thing in joy is contentment, the most substantial thing in distress is discontent. Were Ohrmazd the Lord not content with his goodness, he would have no goodness; were Ahreman not discontented with his wickedness, he would have no wickedness.

197

They held this too: Those who are content with possessions[1] are discontented with wisdom and knowledge.

198

They held this too: When the spirit of lust and greed comes into the body of a man and displays to him the desire for material things, this stratagem is best, that the man should display to himself the transience of the body and of material things and that he should think: "It is useful (?) when it is done. But what should I do if I have to abandon it soon? From now on I shall not do it, so that the disgrace which ensues from [that] should not reach me." For with material things, it is much easier when they are not done than to abandon them.

199

They held this too: A man of wisdom is one who keeps in mind everywhere the end of material things.

200

They held this too: Worthless are the things of the material world, for within one day it is possible that a man who was yesterday healthy and active, with hopes going far ahead, becomes within six hours ill, without activity and hope, and dies before night-time. Sometimes the following day has not (yet) come when he is mixed with earth and becomes dust.[1]

mardomān a'ōn andēšišn ku šāyēd būdan *ku[9] hān mard man hēm, u-m[10] pad hān ēwēnag aweš rasēd ud pas-ez xīr ī gētīg ce rāy[11] frēhbūdīhā[12] abar[13] tuxšēm.

201 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku *ke[1] ēw drahm dārēd be hān[2] *dārēd[3] ī ne[4] dārišn, ēg-ez abdom hān mard pad rēšišn[5] ī kārān[6] tōzēd.

202 [*M516*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xwāstag[1] and dārišn cand xwēškārīh pad-eš ne mānēd.

203 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad ēw drahm ayāb nān-ē šāyēd būdan *ku[1] mard a-paymān dāštan ī hān ēw drahm ud nān-ē rāy be ō marg-arzānīh rasēd. ce šāyēd būdan *ku[1] awe ke xwāstag hān ēw drahm ud nān-ē az-ez hān ēw [*End of K209v; next 8 fols. lost*] drahm ud nān-ē ast ī *pad frēbišn ī *arzānīgān *rasīd[2] ud *ka[3] dāšn az-eš ne dahēd pad-eš ēraxtēd.

204 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom 3 ēwēnag: ēwag buxt, ēwag an-ēraxt, ēwag ēraxt. buxt hān ke ciš az yazdān *ašnawēd[1] ud pad kār dārēd, an-ēraxt hān ke az [*B405*] pas ī awe ke ciš ašnūd, ēraxt hān ke [az] dastwarān be wardēd.

205 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom ēn 3 ēwēnag ō wahišt rasēnd, ēwag hān ī dānāg, ēwag hān ī dānāg-hayyār, ēwag hān ī dānāg-ne-hamēmār.

206 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom ēn 3 ēwēnag: ēwag gāhānīg, ēwag haδa-mānθrīg,[1] ēwag dādīg. awe ī gāhānīg hamīh abāg yazdān, [u-š] wizihīdagīh az dēwān ud druzān, [u-š] xwāstag paymān az šām ud sūr, ud pad wināh ī kunēd šarm ud awwēnišn pādefrāh.

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[7]B **stykl** (= *sedīgar*) [8]MSS *be* [9] MSS *ka* [10]B *u-š* [11]B om. [12]B *frēhbūd* [13]B om.

201 [1]MSS *ka* [2]B om. [3]MSS *dārihēd* [4]B *rāy* [5]B *rēšān* [6]B om.

202 [1]*ku xwāstag*: B repeats

203 [1]MS *ka* [2]**pad frēbišn ī *arzānīgān *rasīd*: MS **BRA plypyt W 'lc'nykyx YXMTWNyt** [3]MS *ke-š*

204 [1]MS 'ŠTHWyt

206 [1]spelled x'tm'nslyk [2]MS **BBA** (= *dar*) [3]MS dyn/ =sn

People ought to reflect thus: "It is possible that that man is me, and that it will come to me in this manner. Why should I then strive excessively after material things?"

201

They held this too: A man who possesses one *drahm*, but he possesses what he should not possess, ultimately he shall atone for the suffering of other people.

202

They held this too: So much (only) should be held of wealth that the fulfillment of duty should not be neglected[1] through it.

203

They held this too: Through one *drahm* or one loaf of bread it may come about that a man comes to be a mortal sinner by keeping immoderately that one *drahm* or loaf of bread. For it may be that that one *drahm* or loaf of bread of the person in whose possession it is is indeed from that one *drahm* or loaf of bread which came to him through deceiving worthy people. If he does not make a present of it, he will be guilty by it.

204

They held this too:[1] People are of three types: one is saved, one is not guilty and one is guilty.[2] Saved is one who hears the thing from the gods and performs it; not guilty is one who follows the man who heard the thing; guilty is one who turns away from the (religious) authorities.

205

They held this too: These three kinds of men reach paradise: one, a man who is wise; one, a man who is a helper of the wise; and one, a man who is a non-opposer of the wise.

206

They held this too:[1] People are of these three kinds: one, those of the *Gāθā*; one, those of the *Haδa-mānθra;* and one, those of the *Dād*.

The association of the *Gāθā* people is with the gods, their separation is from the demons and devils. The measure of their desired possession is

ud hān ī haδa-mānθrīg hamīh abāg ahlawān, u-š wizihīdagīh az druwandān, u-š xwāstag paymān hān ī frārōn kunihēd, ud pad wināh ī kunēnd aštr ud srōšō-caranām [*M517*] ud xrafstar ōzadan ud wad-axwān tuxtan pādefrāh.
ud hān ī dādīg hamīh abāg ērān, u-š wizihīdagīh az an-ērān, u-š xwāstag paymān az [hān] *be[2] ku dādīhā šāyēd kardan, ud pad wināh ī kunēnd kūg zīwišn ud *nihang[3] rōz pādefrāh.

207 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku farrox mard ruwān pahrēzēd, duš-farrag ne ruwān [be] tan pahrēzēd.

208 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ēn tan gabr be kunišn ne cagād. *ce[1] gabr āb ī-š [abar] wārēd hāmōyēn abar pāyēd ud hān-ez ī pad cagād ud abārīg [gyāg ī] *az-eš[2] buland-tar. [ud hān ī pad cagād] wārēd hāmōyēn az-eš be šawēd ud hān ī-š abar ne wārēd ēg-eš fradom aweš ne rasēd. u-šān gabr ēd guft weh-dōstīh; wehīh awe ī did abāyēd, pad xwēš dāštan ud pad-eš pad rāmišn *būdan.[3] u-šān cagād ēd guft [*B406*] weh-dušmanīh; wehīh awe[4] ī did ne abāyēd, pad xwēš [ne] [5]dāštan ud pad-eš bešt būdan.

209 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku weh-dōst mard az hamāg ēn gēhān kirbag abar[1] rasēd az hān ī xwad kunēd hammis pad-eš a'ōn ul ēstēd ce'ōn gabr ī āb abar wārēd *ēd-ez[2] az ane gyāg aweš rasēd. weh-dušmanīh mard az hamāg ēn gēhān kirbag a'ōn *nihang[3] [bawēd] ce hān ī xwad kunēd a'ōn az-eš be šawēd ud az abārīg gyāg a'ōn aweš ne rasēd ce'ōn cagād āb.

208 [1]MS QDM [2]MS MNWš [3]MS *bawēd* [4]MS *ō* [5]cf. E35b
209 [1]spelled QDM' [2]MS XNA MH [3]MS sng

some (?)[2] evening and morning[3] meals. The punishment for sins which they commit is shame and reproof.
The association of the *Haδa-mānθra* people is with the righteous and their separation is from the wicked. The measure of their desired possession is that which is done righteously. The punishment for sins which they commit is the *aštr* and *sraošō-caranā*,[4] the killing of reptiles[5] and atonement through evil existence.[6]
The association of the *Dād* people is with Iranians and their separation is from non-Iranians. The measure of their desired possession is (what issues) from what one may lawfully do. The punishment for sins which they commit is a short[7] life and a brief day.[8]

207
They held this too: A fortunate man serves the soul, an unfortunate man serves not the soul but the body.

208
They held this too:[1] One ought to make this body a cavity,[2] not a mountain top. For the cavity preserves all the water which falls on it, as well as the water which falls on the mountain top and on other [places] which are higher than it. All [that, however, which falls on a mountain top] flows away from it, while that which does not fall upon it does not reach it at all. "A cavity", they said, is this: Friendship of good people; (the view that) good things are necessary to another person; to regard them as one's own and to be joyful thereby. "A mountain top", they said, is this: hostility towards good people; (the view that) good things are not necessary to another person, [not] to regard them as one's own, and to be afflicted thereby.

209
They held this too:[1] To a man who practises friendship of the good there come good deeds from the whole of this world, in addition to those which he performs himself. They gather in him in the manner of a cavity upon which water falls and to which water also comes from other places. To a man who practises enmity of the good there accrue in this manner few good deeds from the whole of this world, for those which

210 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke ēwāz yazdān ud ruwān rāy pad warrawišn abar ul ēstēd ōh-ez hān ciš ke abar [*M518*] ul ēstēd ne dēn ud rāh ī yazdān ēg-ez yazd kunēnd ēn-ez āzādīh pad-eš ku-š sar ō dēn ud ristag ī yazdān kunēnd.

211 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tuxšāg bawišn pad ahlāyīh, ud hugār (ud hubahr)[1] bawišn pad xwarišn ud dārišn, ce hān-ez ī tuxšāg-tom kirbag-tom hugār-tom ud andak *ōzadār[2] mardom ka ō āmār ī mēnōgān rasēd ēg-eš kāmag a'ōn bawēd ku-m kam xward hēh ud kam dāšt ud wēš kard hēh.

212 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw kas ēwēnag 2 ī be kunišn andar nigerišn. u-š andar ēwag-ē āhōg ī xwēš nigerišn ud cand tawān pad wirāyišn abar tuxšišn. u-š hān[1] ī didīgar wehīh ī kārān nigerišn ud pad xwēš dārišn pad-eš pad rāmišn bawišn u-š abar āmōxtišn.

213 [*B407*]u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ruwān ī mardomān hagrez abar gyāg-ē ne ēstēd ce[1] ēwāz hamē abzāyēd ayāb hamē kāhēd. u-šān abzūdan ud kāstan ēd guft ku tā mard ruwān kāmag [ēg] hamē ruwān abzāyēd, ce'ōn tan kāmag *ēg-ez[2] ruwān kāhēd.

214 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku arzānīg bawišn pad harw rāz [ī pay]gār ī yazd ud yazdān 'dyn'y, ce'ōn [ka] mard arzānīg bawēd ēg yazdān xwad az rāz ī paygār ī xwēš āgāh kunēnd, ce yazd ganzwar ī ōstwār xwāhēnd. 'dynyx ī yazdān ud rāz ī paygār ī xwēš az kas-ez nihān nēst, ce dānēh ku [*M519*] cand mardom wēš dānēnd yazd pādexšāy-tar bawēnd. u-šān arzānīgān būd[an] ēd guft ēdōn weh mard bawēd ku-šān yazdān rāh ō tan bawēd ud rāz ī xīr ī xwēš aweš nimāyēnd.

211 [1]probably a gloss on the preceding [2]MS 'wcktl
212 [1]MS + *āhōg*
213 [1]MS + *abāz* [2]MS 'ywp

he himself performs depart from him and nothing comes to him from other places, in the same manner as water does with regard to a mountain top.

210

They held this too:[1] A man who stands in faith[2] for the sake of the gods and the soul alone, and the thing by which he stands is not the religion and the way of the gods, the gods do even this act of favour to him, that they turn his head towards the religion and the path of the gods.

211

They held this too: One ought to be diligent in righteousness, beneficent (?) (and of good share?)[1] in eating and possessing, for even the man who is most diligent, virtuous, beneficent and who causes little destruction (?),[2] when he comes to the trial of the spirits his desire is this: Would that I had eaten and possessed less and had done more.

212

They held this too: Every person has two manners in which he ought to consider his action.

In the one he ought to consider his fault and to strive to correct it as much as is in his power.

In the other he ought to consider the goodness of other people, to hold it as his own, be at peace with it and to learn by it.[1]

213

They held this too: the soul of men never stands in one place, for it always only increases or diminishes. They said that "increasing" and "diminishing" is this: as long as a man has the desire of the soul, the soul increases. When he has the desire of the body, the soul diminishes.

214

They held this too:[1] One ought to be worthy with regard to every mystery of the battle of the gods and with regard to the gods' secrecy (?), for when a man is worthy, the gods themselves inform him of the secret of their battle, for the gods seek a reliable treasurer. The secrecy (?) of the gods and the mystery of their battle are not hidden from any one, for you

215 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn 7 parisp ast u-šān hān ī be-tom mānȳr ud zand guft.

216 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez nēst ke ēn dēn petyārag-tar hēnd ce'ōn hān ī ahlamōg, ce *jud[1] az hān ahlamōgān kas-ez *petyārag[2] nēst *ke[3] *tar[4] ī parisp ast ke be-z ō dēn be-tom andar tawān āmadan. awe ī ahlamōg pad nām ī mānȳr-barīh tar ī parisp ī be-tom andar āyēd, ast ke be-z ō dēn xwadīh ud nazdīh rasēd.

217 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku 30 tōhmag wīr ī mardomān. ēwag[1] tōhmag ēn xwār-tar ī pad abastāg ud zand āmōxtan ud dānistan andar abāyēd.

218 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez [*B408*] nēst ke ciš-ē dārēd ī pad gētīg [az-eš][1] bar ne hamē windēd,[2] ud ranzagīh ī andar rāy az-eš be [ne][3] ayāsēd. ka ō driyōšīh pad gētīg [rasēd] harw kas az-eš be ayāsēd, ud ka ō āmār ī mēnōgān rasēd awe-z ī driyōš-tom mardom kāmag a'ōn ku kāž driyōš-tar būd hēh u-m nūn āmār andak ud xwār-tar abar būd hēh.

219 [*M520*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom pad āmār ī mēnōgān abārīg-ez kirbag ī pad gētīg šāyēd hēh kardan ud ne kard ne kardan rāy abaxš ud pašēmānīh a'ōn aweš rasēd ce'ōn-eš ēn abar rasēd ku *ka-z[1] *az[2] *nān (?)[3] ī mardomān and-cand kōf ī bālāy pad ātaxš be sōzēd ud pad āb be hilēd, ēg pad ruwān puhl kam ce'ōn ka ēw drahm az kas-ē be duzīd ayāb appurd ēstēd.

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216 [1]MS yst [2]MS pyty'l [3]MS MN [4]MS LCWDrw
217 [1]spelled **XD**
218 [1]cf. the parallel section **304.** [2]in **304** *wēnēd* [3]cf. **304**
219 [1]MS k'c [2]MS MNW [3]MS LXM

ought to know that, as much as people know (them) better, the gods are more powerful. They (scil. the sages) said: "To be worthy" means this: the man is good in such a manner that the gods have a way into his body and they show him the mystery of their things.

215

They held this too:[1] Religion consists of seven walls.[2] The outermost one was said by them to be the sacred word and Zand.

216

They held this too: There is no one who is a greater enemy to religion than heretics. For apart from heretics there is no enemy who can thus come from without through the wall into religion's outermost (region). The heretic enters across the outermost wall in the guise of one who carries the sacred word: Some come even up to the selfness and nearness of the religion.

217

They held this too: The intelligence of people consists of thirty seeds. This one seed is of least consequence, that by which one ought to learn and know the Avesta and Zand.

218

They held this too:[1] There is no person who has a thing from which he does not derive any benefit in the material world, and who does [not] seek (to be) away from it because of the pain which is in it. Every person, when he comes to poverty in the mateial world, seeks (to be) away from it, but when he comes to the Reckoning of the Spirits, even the poorest of men has the following desire: "Would that I had been poorer; the reckoning would now be smaller and lighter for me".

219

They held this too: In the Reckoning of the Spirits a man is overcome by so much contrition and regret for not having done more good deeds which it would have been possible for him to perform in the material world and which he did not, that the following occurs (?) to him, namely: if he had burnt in fire or put into water as much of people's bread as a high mountain, the punishment of his soul would be smaller than when he stole or robbed one *drahm* from one person.

220 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke zan ī rūspīg marzēd pad-ez daštān-marzīh ēraxt ēstēd.

221 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku yazd awe ī yazdān-xēm mardom ne a'ōn dārēnd andar ēn gēhān ce'ōn xwad kāmag u-š pad tan-ez nēwag-tar, be a'ōn dārēnd ud pahrēzēnd ce'ōn hān ī pad ruwān sūdōmand-tar.

222 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku yazd awe ī yazdān-xēm mardom a'ōn pahrēzēnd u-š pad kāmag ī tan ēdōn aweš ne sāzēnd ud ne hilēnd rāyēnīdan ce'ōn mard-ē ke *frazand[1]-ē wašt xwarišn-ē *xwāhēd[2] ī-š pad *xwad[3] abēr mezagōmand sahēd ud ka xwarēd be mīrēd ayāb hān waštīh garān-tar bawēd, hān mard awe frazand [*B409*] pad hān xwarišn ō kāmag ne *sāzēd.[4]

223 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad āmōzišn ī awe ī did[1] ciš-ē ēn weh ka xēm ī xwēš be wirāyēd ud xwēš [*M521*] -tan ēwēnag be *kunēd[2] ud pēš ī awe ī did dārēd ud awe ī did andar nigerēd ud wēnēd ud az-eš abar *āmōxtēd.[3]

224 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku be [hān ī] xwēš-tan be wirāyēd ud pad wehīh ī-š ast kārān xēzēd ēnyā-š kas ne āmōxtēd ud az-eš weh ne bawēd, ēd rāy ce kas-ez āhōg az handāz ī awe wēnēd ke dādestān wirāst ēstēd, ce pad gētīg xwēš-tan andar hān ciš wēnēd ī az xwēš-tan rōšn-tar ud tābīg-tar. *agar-ez[1] was zamān mard-ē jāmag ī dusīn hamē nišēd xwēš-tan ne wēnēd, ud ka ō ēwēnag ī pāk nišēd xwēš-tan wēnēd, ēd rāy ce ayōxšust pad dīdan az mardomān rōšn-tar ud dusīn jāmag tārīk-tar.

225 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tuxšāg bawišn kadām-jān-ez kas pad srišwadag ī *miyān[1] ī šab pad ātaxš *abrōxtan[2] harw ku was dēw az-eš zad bawēnd. ud and zamān tā ātaxš abrōxt ēstēd harw ku awe ātaxš padīrag rasēd tam ud tārīkīh be [*B410*] brīnēd ud wanē a-paydāg kunēd. hān kunišn be-z ō hayyārīh ī ō mēnōg rasēd ke pad brīdan ud a-paydāg[3] kardan ī tam gumārd ēstēd, ud hān rōšnīh tārīkīh wanē a-paydāg kunēd ud pad mēnōg pēš ī ruwān ī *awe[4] mard ke rāy hān rōšnīh bawēd ul ēstēd ud ruwān ī mardom rōšn ud nēwag ud āsān[5] kunēd.

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222 [1]spelled **PWN** znd **I** [2]MS *bawēd* [3]MS **NPŠH** [4]MS *sāzēnd*
223 [1]MS + *hān* [2]MS *kunišn* [3]MS **'mwxcyt**
224 [1]MS **APš NPŠH**
225 [1]MS *mādiyān* [2]MS *abrōxt ēstēd* [3]MS + *kunēd* [4]MS *ō* [5]MS **kw's'n** (= *harw sān*?)

220

They held this too: A man who unites with a prostitute is guilty also of intercourse during menstruation.

221

They held this too: The gods keep a man of godly character in this world not according to his own desire or as is best for his body; they keep and preserve him by that which is most beneficial for his soul.

222

They held this too:[1] The gods preserve a man of godly character and do not carry out for him the desire of his body, nor do they let him satisfy it, in the same way as a man of whom a sick child asks for food that seems to him exceedingly tasty, but if he ate it he would die or his illness would become graver. That man does not fulfill the desire of the child concerning that food.

223

They held this too: In teaching one's fellow this one thing is best: That a man discipline his character, make a mirror of himself and hold it in front of his fellows. The other man looks at it, sees it and learns from it.[1]

224

They held this too: No person is taught or becomes better by a man except by one who disciplines himself and who arouses other people by the goodness which he possesses.[1] The reason for this is that a person sees a fault by the measure of one who is disciplined according to law; for in the material world a man sees himself in that thing that is brighter and more luminous than himself. Even if a man watched an earthenware vessel for a long time, he would not see himself, but when he looks at a clean mirror he sees himself. This is because metal is brighter to the sight than people, and an earthenware vessel is darker.[2]

225

They held this too: Every person should be diligent in kindling fire in the *middle third of the night whenever many demons should be smitten by it. As long as the fire burns in every place that it faces it cuts away obscurity and darkness, destroying and extinguishing them. This action comes

226 [*M522*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad hangerd[1] wāzag[2] ē abēr mādiyān ēn-ez ēdōn: *ke[3] pāyrōzīg hān kunišn kunēd ī ka ō āškāragīh ud paydāgīh ud wēnišn ī was kas rasēd ēg mardom pad ēn ne awwēnēnd ku-t abārōn ud wad kard.

227 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw mardom harw rōz 3 bār ka xwaršēd xēzēd ēg xwēš-tan be ō yazdān dahišn ud astagīh ī dēn ud yazdān ud an-astagīh ī ahreman ud dēwān be gōwišn. pad harw wināh ī menēd [ku] hān rōz pēšār (?) *būd[1] pad menišn gōwišn kunišn az-eš abaxš ud andar yazdān pad-padīd *bawišn.[2] u-š harw jār[3] xwēš-tan pad āmār zanišn ku-m im-rōz ce xward ud dāšt, u-m ce kard, ud a'ōn ce'ōn kār kard im-*rōz[4] yazdān abzār būd hēm ayāb dēwān.

228 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān 3 ciš pad kardan xwēš-kārīh ud ke ne kunēd ērangīhā, ēwag [*B411*] xēm ī xwēš be wirāstan, ud ēwag pad āhōg ī did ne nigerīdan, ud ēwag cašm ō gēhān dāštan.

229 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xīr ī gētīg bar sūr, ud sūr bar tan dāštan. tan bar [ruwān], ud ruwān bar tan ī pasēn. tan ī pasēn bar rāmišn ī a-frasāwand ī hamē ast ud hamē bawēd.

230 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mēnōgān yazdān āyišn ī az mēnōg ō gētīg nazdist ātaxš ī warhrān ud pas abārīg gyāg.

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226 [1] or **andarz*? [2] MS **'pk'** [3] MS **MN**
227 [1] MS *bawēd* [2] MS *bawēd* [3] spelled **y'wl** [4] MS **ZNH**

also to the help of the spirit who is in charge of cutting away and destroying darkness. That light annihilates darkness, and in the spiritual world it stands in front of the soul of the man for whom it was kindled, and makes it bright, good and at ease.

226

They held this too: In summary[1] there is this one very substantial saying: a man who performs daily an action for which, when it becomes public, manifest and visible by many people, they would not reproach him for it saying: "You have done a sinful and evil deed."

227

They held this too: Every person should surrender himself to the gods three times a day, when the sun rises, and speak out the existence of the religion and the gods and the non-existence of Ahreman and the demons. He should be contrite and repentant to the gods for every sin he thinks he was guilty of that day in thought, speech and action.[1] Each time he should take account with himself as follows: "What have I eaten and possessed to-day? What have I done? In the manner in which I performed my actions to-day, have I been an instrument of the gods or of the demons?".

228

They held this too: People have duty to do three things; whoever does not do them is under guilt. One is to discipline his character, one is not to look into the faults of his fellows,[1] and one is to keep his eye on the world.[2]

229

They held this too:[1] The fruit[2] of material things is a meal; the fruit of a meal is the preservation of the body; the fruit of the body is the [soul], the fruit of the soul is the future body, the fruit of the future body is intransient joy that always is and always will be.

230

They held this too: The coming of the divine spirits from the spiritual into the material world is first at the fire of Warhrān and later in other places.

231 *[M523]* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka ahlamōgān ō dēn āyēnd ud abar astīh ud an-astīh ī dēn[1] ud yazdān paygār kunēnd ēg be ō āhrōn ke xwēškārīh hān. ast u-š tawān bōzišn ī xwēš ud ērangīh ī ahlamōg guftan *ēnyā[2] abārīg *mardom[3] be ka xwāhēnd ud az-eš pursēnd *ēnyā[4]-šān xwad pad pēšobāyīh ī xwēš ō paygār ne šawišn ud ciš ne gōwišn. ke gōwēd rēštagīh az-eš rasēd ud xwad tōzēd, be ka xwāhēnd ud pursēnd tā-z be ō gāwarizag(?)[5]-ē ciš ī rāst gōwišn ud ke ne gōwēd ērangīhā.

232 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān-ez ī mahist kirbag ka-š awe ī dehbad xwadāy pad ne kardan framān dād ēstēd ēg-ez ne kunišn, ud ke kunēd hil[išn].[1] *ce[2] ne kirbag be stabr wināh bawēd, ud pad bahr ī xwēš ērangīhā ud dehbadīh wišuft bawēd.

233 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī ka dehbad pursēd ku drōn yazišn ayāb ne ēg ka bazag pad bazag brīnēnd ēg-ez ne gōwišn ku ne yazišn. be ka hān ī dehbad mard-ē framān dād ku drōn ma yaz, *[B412]* ka yazēd ne yazišn be wināh bawēd. a'ōn ce'ōn drōn abārīg-ez harw kirbag, ka hān ī dehbad pad ēn pursēd ku kunišn ayāb ne a'ōn abar ēstišn ud ka hān ī dehbad framān dahēd ku ma kun[1] a'ōn be ēstišn.

234 *[M524]* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ce *ka[1] andar hān ciš ēstēd ī dehbad pad *ne[2] kardan framān abar dād ēstēd, ka rēš aweš rasēd a'ōn *tōzēd[3] ce'ōn ke az dušman ana-bīm ud pad kām ī xwēš ne ō *šahrestān[4] ī diz ī drubušt ī ąbādān be ō diz ī kahwan ī awērān ke kas andar nēst šawēd ud mīrēd ayāb zad bawēd. pad margīh ud zadan ī xwēš xwad tōzēd.

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231 [1]MS dyn'yx. Sanjana emends to *dēn [ī] weh* [2]MS ADYNš [3]MS ŠWTA(D) [4]MS ADYN [5]spelled y'wlckwb
232 [1]MS ŠBKWN [2]MS *ku*
233 [1]MS *kunēnd*
234 [1]MS *ke* [2]MS *rāy* [3]MS tcyt' [4]MS d'tst''n

231

They held this too: When heretics come to the religion and raise controversy over the existence or non-existence of the religion and the gods, no other person should go under his own leadership to the debate and speak anything except a priest whose duty it is and who is capable of speaking in such a way as to save himself and defeat the heretic. Other people can go only if they are sought and asked to do so. If anyone speaks (against this rule), mischief ensues and the man himself has to atone for it. When, however, a man is sought and asked (to speak), he ought to speak truthful things even to a . . . (?).[1] Any one who does not is under guilt.

232

They held this too: When a lord ruler has given an order not to perform even the greatest work of virtue, one should not perform it. A man who does perform it should desist (?).[1] For it is not an act of virtue but a grievous sin; the man (who performs it) is, for his own part, under guilt, and the position of the ruler is destroyed.

233

They held this too: When a ruler asks: "Ought one to perform the *drōn* ritual or not?" One ought not to tell him not to perform it, come what may (?).[1] When, however, a ruler gives an order to a man: "Do not perform the *drōn* ritual," if he does, it is not (considered) worship but a sin. In the same manner as with *drōn* so it is with regard to other good deeds, (namely), when the ruler asks whether to perform or not, one has to stand firm by them, and when he orders not to perform them, one ought to refrain.

234

They held this too: Whenever one perseveres in doing something which the ruler has issued an order not to do, he pays penance for that when suffering comes upon him in the same manner as a man who is unafraid of the enemy and by his own decision goes not to a fortified and populous castle town but to an old and deserted castle in which there is no one, and he is killed or beaten. He pays penance (for his action) by being killed or beaten.

235 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wišōbišn ī dūdag ast ī pad petyārag ast ī mihr-druzīh bawēd. dānāg hān bawēd ī ka 2 dūdag ī wišuft wēnēd dānēd ku kadām hān ī pad petyārag kadām hān ī az mihr-druz[1] wišuft.

236 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xīr ī yazdān hagrez pad menišn az-eš be ne ēstēd, ud a'ōn abar ēstišn ku hān ī abārōn ciš hagrez pad menišn ne menīdan. *ce[1] ōš mardomān andar harw zaman zaman frāz rasēd, ud bīm *ēwāz[2] pad hān gāh ī ka ōš frāz rasēd ēg mard ciš ī abārōn hamē *menēd,[3] ōh-ez pēš az hān ī mard frārōn-kunišn bawēd ēg ruwān-dušman be bawēd. ce hamē tā mard kirbag ud ahlāyīh menēd ēg yazd andar tan[4] [*B413*] mānēnd ud dēwān staw bawēnd ud be šawēnd, ud ka ciš ī abārōn menēd ēg dēw andar ō tan dwārēnd, ud agar ka mard be mīrēd hān zaman druz andar tan bawēd ēg pad ruwān stahmag-tar bawēd, ud pas yazdān [*M525*] dušwār-tar bawēd hān tan az dast ī druz be stadan ce'ōn ke pad gētīg xwad druz az tan staw kard hēh.

237 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abd-ez hād hān ī yazd-ē harw panāh aweš kunēd ud parastēd ud tarsagāh bawēd ēg az anāgīh be bōzēd. u-š awe yazd rāy guft ēd bawēd ruwān ī xwēš.

238 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az harw ciš rāmišn padīreftan abāyēd. az hān ī nēwag pad ēn padīreftan[1] abāyēd ku an-ez[2] andar bahr hēm, *ce-m[3] xwēš. ud az hān ī wad pad ēn padīrišn ku nēwag-ez jast ku-š an andar ne hēm, u-m *ne[4] xwēš.

235 [1]MS **mtrwk** dlwc'
236 [1]MS *abar* [2]MS *ayāb* [3]MS **myn'** [4]*andar tan*: MS repeats
238 [1]MS **pylwptn'** [2]MS **LYc** [3]MS *abar* [4]MS *rāy*

235

They held this too: The dissolution of a family sometimes comes about through adversity and sometimes by the breaking of oaths. A wise man is one who knows, when he sees two dissolved families, which one (reached that condition) through adversity and which one by the breaking of oaths.

236

They held this too:[1] Never depart from the things of the gods in your thoughts. A man ought to be attached to them in such a manner that he should never think a sinful thing in his mind. For death comes to men at every hour, and fear only at that time when, upon the coming of death, the man thinks something sinful, even in such a manner that he becomes an enemy of the soul before he becomes a doer of righteousness. For as long as the man thinks good deeds and righteousness the gods stay in his body and the demons are made powerless and depart, and when he thinks sinful things the demons rush into his body. If the man dies, and the demons at that hour are in his body, it is harder for the soul, and it is later more difficult for the gods to snatch that body from the hands of the demons, than it would be for a man himself to make the demons powerless over his body in the material world.

237

They held this too:[1] There will be (something) wonderful to him who gives every protection to a (certain) god, worships him and is reverent towards him. He (the god) then saves him from evil. Concerning that god he[2] said: it is the man's own soul.

238

They held this too:[1] It is necessary to gain joy from every thing. From a good thing he should gain it through this (thought): "I too am in the same share, for it is mine." From a fatal thing he should gain it through this (thought): "A good thing happened in that I am not in it, and it is not mine."

239 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ruwān zīndagīh az hōg ī frārōn, ud hōg zīndagīh az xēm, ud xēm zīndagīh az mardomān dōstīh. ud ka mard pad abārīg ciš ī weh abzārōmand be-š xēm wad ēg az kunišn ī awe mard ruwān ī awe mard zīndagīh nēst.

240 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xrad zīndagīh az burdīh, ud dēn zīndagīh az rāstīh, ud huš zīndagīh az yazišn ī yazdān pad škōy (?) kardan, ud yazišn zīndagīh az nīrang, ud nīrang zīndagīh az dastwar, ud dastwar[1] zīndagīh az paywand ī dēn pad mihr.

241 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abēr ērangīhā [ke] ciš ī mēnōg ne warrawēd, ce ke andar ēn gēhān ciš-ez ne [*M526*] ašnūd ēstēd ēg-eš ne bōzāgīh, [be] ke pad kamist pad xīr ī mēnōg pad ēn and gumān ne bawēd ku [*B414*] harw gōnag ciš-ē ast.

242 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mihr ud dōstīh ī ēwag abāg did abzāyēd. hān ī ka mard ēwag abāg did ne wēnēd be nām ašnawēd, hān-ez ī abēr abzārōmand mard, *mihr[1] ō *rōz[2] ku ēwag[3] abāg did ō wēnišn rasēnd 100 and abzāyēd ce'ōn hān ī pēš, ud ka ō ham-pursagīh 100 and abzāyēd ce'ōn hān ī [pēš, ud] ka ō ham-xwarišnīh rasēnd was was be abzāyēd ce'ōn hān ī pēš. ud pas rōz rōz ō abzāyīdan mardomān ranz abēr burdan ku pad hān and mihr ud dōstīh *ōh[4] abzāyēm ce abdom-ez harw druz pad *ēn[5] mihr ud dōstīh be šāyēd absihīdan.

243 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez mardom ī wināh kunēd rāy dušman ud anāg-kāmag ne bawišn ud pad wināh ī pēšār (?) bawēd ōh abaxšāyišn, ēn-ez andēšišn ku must-ez ast ka ahreman ēdōn [*K201r*] be frēft ud wiyābān kard.

240 [1]MS + *az*
242 [1]MS **mt'** [2]MS **ZNH** [3]MS + *did* [4]MS *ō* [5]MS *rōz*

239

They held this too: The life of the soul is from righteous habit, the life of habit is from character, the life of character is from love of people. When a man is capable in all other good things, but his character is bad, there is no life to the soul of that man because of his action.

240

They held this too:[1] The life of wisdom is from patience, the life of religion is from truthfulness, the life of consciousness is from the worship of the gods in awe, the life of worship is from the ritual, the life of the ritual is from a (religious) authority, the life of authority is from association with religion through love.

241

They held this too: A man who does not believe in spiritual things is much under guilt. For there is no salvation to a man who has not heard a thing in this world, unless a man has no doubt concerning spiritual things at least in so far, (namely:) "All manners of things exist."

242

They held this too: Increase the love and friendship of one person to another. When two men have not seen each other, but only heard (of each other) by name, even with very virtuous people, their love (for each other) increases a hundredfold on the day when they come to see each other, compared to what it was before. When they meet for consultation it (again) increases a hundredfold compared to what it was before, when they come to eat together it increases by a great many times compared to what it was before. People should therefore expend every day great effort for increasing (their love, saying): "I thus increase love and friendship by so much that ultimately it will be possible to destroy every demon by this love and friendship."

243

They held this too: No one should be an enemy and a wisher of evil to any person who commits a sin, one should be merciful of a sin which has been committed (?), and think thus: "It is indeed oppression when (that man) is deceived and misled in this manner by Ahreman."

244 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez mardom nēst ke ciš-ē kunēd u-š hān ciš ne xwēš rāy kard bawēd frārōn ayāb abārōn, ce harw ke andar kunēd ruwān ī xwēš abzāyēd ayāb kāhēd, u-šān harw ēwēnag pad ruwān ī xwēš kard bawēd. ud *amāh[1] mardomān abēr tuxšāg [*M527*] abāyēd būdan ku xwēš ruwān rāy nēwagīh xwāhēm ne[2] anāgīh.

245 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku frēhbūd ud sāstārīh[1] petyārag ī dehbadān. abēbūd ud ahlamōgīh petyārag ī āhrōnān.

246 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn petyārag ag-dēnīh[1] ud an-ērīh, u-š brādarōd ahlamōgīh. xrad petyārag drōzanīh, u-š brādarōd waranīgīh. [*B415*] xēm petyārag tar-menišnīh u-š brādarōd xwad-dōšagīh.

247 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku 10 ciš ēn humānāg-tar ce'ōn rādīh ud wanēgarīh, rāst-gōwišnīh ud halag-gōwišnīh,[1] [*K201v*] tuxšāgīh ud widangīh,[2] wistāxwīh ud wastārīh, āwāmīh ud ašgahānīh. mard be abāyēd dānistan ku[3] ce hān ast ud ce hān.

248 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez dām abē-wēnāft ciš-ē ne kunēd be pēš-wēnāft[1] rāy kunēd ī a-frasāwand.[2]

249 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt[1] ku ohrmazd ud ahreman harw 2 abar kāmag ī mardomān nišīnēnd ud ke ohrmazd burdār ēg-eš mizd az[2] ohrmazd ud ke ahreman burdār ēg-eš mizd az ahreman. ud mardomān abēr tuxšāg bawišn ku tā ohrmazd burdār bawēm ku-mān mizd az ohrmazd ī xwadāy bawēd, ce ke ahreman burdār ēg-eš mizd[3] anāgīh.[4]

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244 [1]MSS *abāg* [2]B *rāy*
245 [1]B *sāstār*
246 [1]B 'dynyx
247 [1]B om. [2]B tngyx [3]B om.
248 [1]B *pēš-* 'n'pt' [2]B *a-frasāwandīh*
249 [1]B om. [2]B *ō* [3]*az ahreman ud mardomān...burdār ēg-eš mizd:* B om. [4]B + 'cš

244

They held this too: There is no man who does anything, whether righteous or sinful, which is not being done for himself. For whoever does something, his soul increases or diminishes; in any case people do it to their own souls. We people should be very diligent so as to desire good, not evil, for our souls.

245

They held this too: Excess and tyranny are the adversary of rulers. Deficiency and heresy are the adversary of priests.

246

They held this too: The adversary of religion is bad religion and non-Iranian behaviour; its false associate is heresy. The adversary of wisdom is falsehood, and its false associate is greed. The adversary of character is contempt and its false associate is self-love.

247

They held this too: These ten things are most similar (to each other): generosity and squandering; true speech and vain speech; diligence and harshness; confidence and brashness; alacrity (?)[1] and slothfulness. A man should know what is the one and what is the other.

248

They held this too:[1] No creature does a thing that is not visible, unless he does it for that which will be manifest in the future,[2] namely intransience.

249

They held this too: Both Ohrmazd and Ahreman attach themselves to the desire of people. Whoever is a carrier of Ohrmazd has his reward from Ohrmazd, and whoever is a carrier of Ahreman has his reward from Ahreman. People ought to be very diligent (as follows:) "Let us be carriers of Ohrmazd, so that our reward may come from Ohrmazd the Lord," for a man who is a carrier of Ahreman his reward is bad life.

250 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke kāmēd ku[1] dānāg bawēd fradom ciš-ē ēn ēw kunēd ku yazdān tarsagāh ēw bawēd ud abāg dānāgān ēw[2] rawēd, ud bāstān menišnīh ī xwēš bawandag be ēw kunēd, ce'ōn ka-š xwaš xwardīg xward [*K202r; M528*] ēstēd, ud bāstān tan ī xwēš pad pahrēz ēw dārēd, ku-š druz pad tan abarwēz ud pādexšāy ne bawēd.

251 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tarsagāh ī yazdān ēd bawēd ke ne hān ī kōdag ud ne hān ī[1] wuzurg ciš-ez[2] ciš jud[3] az ham-pursagīh ī wehān ne kunēd.

252 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dōst-ē hān pahlom-tom ke ruwān ī xwēš pad dōstīh kunēd u-š hagrez az[1] dōstīh be ne hilēd ne pad frāxwīh ud ne pad tangīh. dastwar-ē hān pahlom-tom ke[2] ox ī xwēš pad dastwar kunēd ud hagrez az dastwarīh be ne hilēd. panāh-ē hān weh ke xēm ī xwēš panāh [*B416*] kunēd ud hagrez az panāh be ne hilēd.

253 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wehīh-ē nēst ī mardomān mēnōgīhā hēh[1] u-š gētīgīhā ne paydāg hēh. ce stī (?) abzār xēm, xēm abzār hōg ī frārōn, hōg abzār xrad[2], xrad abzār ham-pursagīh ī wehān. [*K202v*] hunar abzār tuxšāgīh, xwarr abzār rāstīh, ud ruwān abzār yazišn ī yazdān.

254 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku āštīh ud mihr andar harw dām dahišn,[1] kirbag ō harw kas gōwišn, ud zand pad šabestān cāšišn,[2] ud rāz ō ōstwārān gōwišn[3] ud srōšīh[4] ud dādestānīgīh andar anjaman dārišn, ud rāmišn andar myazd gāh, ud yazišn ī yazdān pad škōyišn kunišn.

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250 [1]K om. [2]MSS **XNA** (= *ēd*)
251 [1]*kōdag ud ne hān ī*: B om. [2]K *ciš-ē* [3]B om.
252 [1]B om. [2]B om.
253 [1]B om. [2]*hōg abzār xrad*: K om.
254 [1]K *dārišn* [2]B *gōwišn* [3]B *gōwišn-ez* [4]B *srōšīgīh*

250

They held this too: A man who desires to be wise should first do this, namely: he should be reverent towards the gods, he should associate with the wise and he should always make his mind peaceful, as if he has eaten a sweet food, and he should always keep his body under guard so that the demons do not become victorious and ruling over his body.

251

They held this too: A man who is reverent towards the gods is one who does not do a thing, either small or great, without consulting good people.

252

They held this too: That friend is best: a man who takes his own soul as a friend, and who does not abandon it[1] either in abundance or in destitution. That authority is best, a man who takes his own mind as authority, and who never departs from (its) authority. That shelter is best, a man who makes his character into a shelter and who never departs from (its) shelter.

253

They held this too: There is no goodness which people possess spiritually and which does not manifest itself to them[1] materially. For the instrument of (an individual) being[2] is character, the instrument of character is righteous habit, the instrument of habit is wisdom, the instrument of wisdom is consultation of good people.[3] The instrument of skill is diligence; the instrument of fortune is truthfulness; the instrument of the soul is the worship of the gods.

254

They held this too:[1] One should instruct[2] peace and love in every creature, speak good deeds to every person, teach Zand in the household, and tell a secret to reliable people. One should keep obedience and lawfulness in the assembly, joy in the place of the *myazd* [ritual], and perform the worship of the gods in awe.

255 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas nēst ke ēn pad [*M529*] gōhr ne būd[1] hēh: marīh ud jehīh[2] ud jādūgīh ud an-ērīh. ud kas-ez wirāstan ne tawān be ke pad dēn ud ham-pursagīh ī wehān wirāyēd.[3]

256 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku marīh ēd bawēd stahmīh[1] ud zadārīh. jehīh[2] ēd bawēd zamanīh (?) ud purr-bēšīh. jādūgīh ēd bawēd nihān-xēmīh ud tan ī xwēš juttar nimūdan ku hān ī ast. an-ērīh ēd bawēd[3] ke harw ke az-eš cēr zanēd [*K210r*] ud apparēd.

257 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tā moγ-mardān pad barsom ī wišād[1] yazišn ne *kunēnd[2] jehān zan ud nasāh[3] abēr[4] huzārag bawēd. u-šān tā barsom a-pahrēxt[5] ne hišt juwān mard margīh abēr andak būd.

258 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahreman ka dām-dahišnīh ī ohrmazd dīd az pāy be [*B417*] ōbast. ud ka fraškerd-kardārīh dīd pad zānūg andar ōbast. ud ka rist-āxēz dīd stard ōbast ud 3000 sāl nibast.

259 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw *çiš[1] zreh-ē ast. ērīh ī šāhān-šāh [zreh] bawandagīh, ud dēn zreh mānθr, ud rōšnīh zreh xwaršēd.

260 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka ciš pad xēm ī frārōn nigerihēd[1] ēg hamāg and (?)[2] wahānag be wēnihēd. ud xēm ī frārōn wahman-dārīh. ka ciš pad waran nigerihēd ēg ciš-ez wehīh ne wēnihēd.

261 [*M530*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn gōhr ce'ōn [*K210v*] ēwēnag, ka andar nigerihēd xwēš-tan andar wēnihēd. ēd-ez a'ōn ku ke dānēd nigerīdan ēg hamāg wehīh ud wattarīh andar be wēnihēd.

255 [1]K *bawēd* [2]K + gloss in Pazand *jihi*; B yyx [3]MSS wyl'stn'
256 [1]B *stahmagīh* [2]K + gloss in Pazand *jihi*; B yyx [3]*ēd bawēd*: B om.
257 [1]B *wišādag* [2]MSS *kunišn* [3]*ud nasāh*: might be read *ud jeh* (as a gloss). [4]B + *andak būd* [5]B *a-pahrēxtag*
259 [1]MSS MHš
260 [1]B nk'lyxyt' [2]spelled 'nnd

255

They held this too: There is no person in whose substance these things are not found: knavery, the condition of a whore, sorcery and non-Iranian behaviour. No one can discipline them except a man who disciplines them through religion and the consultation of good people.

256

They held this too: This is knavery: violence and contentiousness. This is the condition of a whore: *divination (?)[1] and amplitude of trouble. This is sorcery: having secretive character and displaying oneself as different from what one is. This is non-Iranian behaviour: a man who smites and robs every one over whom he is victorious.

257

They held this too: So long as priests do not worship with open *barsom* (twigs) there will be very few whore women and corpses.[1] So long as they did not leave the *barsom* unattended, the death of young men was very scarce.[2]

258

They held this too:[1] When Ahreman saw the creation of the creatures by Ohrmazd he fell from his feet. When he saw the making of the Renovation he fell to his knees. When he saw the Resurrection he fell vanquished and lay for three thousand years.

259

They held this too: Every thing has a sea. The [sea[1] of the] Iranian quality of the king of kings is perfection; the sea of religion is the sacred word; the sea of brightness is the sun.

260

They held this too: When a matter is examined by righteous character all its several[1] causes (?) are seen. Righteous character is kindliness. When a matter is examined by lust nothing of goodness is seen (in it).

261

They held this too: The substance of religion is like a mirror; when a man looks at it he sees himself in it. This is in the following manner: a man who knows how to look sees all goodness and evil in it.

262 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku narīh ud mādagīh was ēwēnag. ēn-ez narīh ud mādagīh ast āsn-xrad ud gōšosrūd-xrad. ce gōšosrūd-xrad pad narīh gāh kard ēstēd ud āsn-xrad pad mādagīh gāh kard ēstēd. ud āsn-xrad andar tan-ē harw cand ast ast, ud harw ce dānihēd pad āsn-xrad dānihēd, ud ke gōšosrūd-xrad abar ne rasēd ēg ciš-ez ne dānēd, ud ka abar mad pas and cand dānihēd pad xēm ud āsn-xrad dānihēd. ud āsn-xrad ke[1] gōšosrūd-xrad abāg nēst ēdōn-ez[2] ce'ōn mādag ke gušn abāg nēst[3] ud ābustan ne bawēd ud bar ne dahēd. ud hān ke [gōšosrūd] xrad ud āsn-xrad ne bawandag ēdōn humānāg ce'ōn mādag ke gušn ne padīrēd, ce mādag ke gušn [*K211r*] ne padīrēd bar a'ōn ne dahēd ce'ōn ka pad [*B418*] bun[4] gušn nēst.

263 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pahlom ciš ham-pursagīh ī wehān ce[1] ham-pursagīh ī wehān šnāyišn ī yazdān.

264 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dašt ku ahreman az gēhān ēdōn be šāyēd kardan ku harw kas pad bahr ī xwēš az tan be wāzēd ce ahreman andar gēhān mānišn[1] pad tan ī [*M531*] mardomān ast. ēg-eš ce'ōn pad tan ī mardomān[2] mānišn ne bawēd ēg az hamāg gēhān be absihēd[3] ce[4] tā andar ēn gēhān pad kas-ez mardomān kōdag druz-ē mehmānīh ēg ahreman andar gēhān.

265 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku yazd pad hān gyāg mehmān kunišn hēnd ī ka pad hān gyāg mehmān kard hēnd pad hamāg ēn gēhān mehmān kard hēnd. ce ka ahreman az tan ī mardomān be kard az hamāg gēhān be[1] absihēd,[2] yazd-ez ka pad tan ī mardomān pādexšāy kard hēnd [pad hamāg gēhān pādexšāy].

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262 [1]B *az* [2]B *ēdōn* [3]B om. [4]B om.
263 [1]B *abar*
264 [1]B *menišn* [2]*ast. ēg-eš ce'ōn pad tan ī mardomān:* B om. [3]K 'p'd't'; B 'p'syt' [4]B repeats
265 [1]*kard az hamāg gēhān be*: B om. [2]MSS 'p'syxyt' (here and in the following)

262

They held this too: There are many kinds of masculinity and femininity. Masculinity and femininity are even this: innate wisdom and acquired wisdom. Acquired wisdom occupies the place of the masculine, and innate wisdom occupies the place of the feminine. As much as there is in the body of innate wisdom, there is; every thing that is known, is known by innate wisdom. A man who has obtained no acquired wisdom knows nothing. When he has obtained it, whatever he knows is by character and innate wisdom. Innate wisdom without acquired wisdom is like a female without a male, who does not conceive and does not bear fruit. A man who possesses [acquired] wisdom, but whose innate wisdom is not perfect, is like a female who is not receptive to a male; for a female who is not receptive to a male does not bear fruit in the same manner as one who does not have a male in the first place.

263

They held this too: The best thing is consultation of good people, for the consultation of good people is the satisfaction of the gods.

264

They held this too:[1] It is possible to put Ahreman out of the world in this manner, namely, every person, for his own part, chases him out of his body, for the dwelling of Ahreman in the world is in the body of men. When he will have no dwelling in the bodies of men, he will be annihilated[2] from the whole world; for as long as there is in this world dwelling even in a single person to a small demon, Ahreman is in the world.[3]

265

They held this too: The gods should be made to inhabit that place which if they inhabit, they are made to inhabit the whole of this world. For when Ahreman is put out of the body of men he is annihilated[1] from the whole world, and the gods, too, when they are made rulers over the bodies of men [they are rulers over the whole world].[2]

266 [*K211v*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad uskārišn ī dēn tuxšāg-tar bawišn ku pad abastāg ud zand, ce uskārišn ī dēn juwānīh ī ruwān.

267* [*S vol. XII*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wehān ast ī pursīd ud ast ī wizārd. pursīd ku ce ahlāyīh ud ce ahlawīh ud ce kirbag ud ce pākīh ud ce xwēškārīh ud ce wizīdārīh ud ce abēzagīh ud ce dādārīh ud ce rāstīh ud ce amargīh ud ce tan ī pasēn.

ahlawīh ēd bawēd ahlāyīh-paymōgīh.

kirbag ēd bawēd kār ī yazdān kardan.

pākīh ēd bawēd judāgīh ī az druz.

*xwēš-kārīh[1] ēd bawēd a-wināhīh.

wizīdārīh ēd bawēd menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn [*B419*] az anōdagān nērōg ō xwēšān hayyārīh wizīdan.

abēzagīh ēd bawēd ēwagānagīh.[2]

dādārīh mādiyān hān ī ō harw, ud ēd bawēd harw kas rāy nēwagīh abāyistan.

rāstīh hangerd īg ēd bawēd [*M532*] ne druxtan ī pad hēc abar[3] [*K212v*] hēc.

ud a-margīh ce'ōn būd abāz būd.

ud tan ī pasēn ce'ōn zād abāz zād bawēd.

268 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku druz abēr kōšēd ud staw ne bawišn, ce druz ka wizand ō absihišn[1] mad ēg[2] kōšēd.

269 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az ēn[1] 5 ēwēnag abēr wardišn, az anāg-menišnīh ud duzīh ud apparīh ud āzwarīh ud ag-ruwānīh.[2] anāg-menišnīh ēd bawēd ke wehān ud ahlawān ud weh-dōstān rāy anāg andēšēd.
duzīh ēd bawēd ke xwēš tan[3] juttar nimāyēd ku hān ī ast. apparīh[4] ēd bawēd ke xwāstag ī ne xwēš rāy gōwēd ku kāž *ka[5] man xwēš hēh.
āzwarīh ēd bawēd ke hunar ī ane kas ne kāmēd.
ag-ruwānīh ēd bawēd ke gōwēd hān ī rāst ud xwad ne kunēd.

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267 *From this point, where *DkS* vol. XII begins, the variants of DP are given by the editor of *DkS*. They are here reproduced, whenever they are significant, from *DkS*, as neither DP nor a photocopy of it have been accessible. [1] MSS **'šk'lkyx** (= *āškāragīh*) [2] B, DP **'ywk'nyx** [3] B om.

268 [1] K **'p'd'**xšn; B **'p'ddšn** [2] B om.

269 [1] *az ēn*: K **MND'M** [2] K **'klwbšnyx** [3] B *xwēš* [4] B repeats [5] MSS *ke* (cf. Bthl., *MirMund*, I, 47, n. 1)

266

They held this too: A man ought to be more diligent over the consideration of religion than over that of Avesta and Zand; for the consideration of religion is the youth[1] of the soul.

267

They held this too: Some good people asked and others explained. They asked: "What is righteousness, what is the state of the righteous?[1] What is good deeds? What is cleanliness? What is doing one's duty? What is discernment? What is purity? What is donation? What is truthfulness? What is immortatity? What is resurrection? "

The state of the righteous is this: knowing the garment of righteousness.

Good deeds is this: to do the work of the gods.

Cleanliness is this: separation from the demons.

Doing one's duty is this: sinlessness.

Discernment is this: to discern one's thought, speech and action (by transferring them) from the power of aliens to the help of one's own people.[2]

Purity is this: obedience.

Donation, in substance, is that which (is given) to every one. It is this: to owe good to every one.

Truthfulness, in summary, is this: not to lie to any one concerning any thing.

Immortality (is this): as he was so he is again.

Resurrection (is this): as he was born so he will be born again.

268

They held this too: Fight the demons persistently and be not overpowered, for the demon fights when his harm comes to nought.

269

They held this too: Turn away strongly from these five manners: evil thinking, thievery, robbery, covetousness, and bad soul.

Evil thinking is this: a man who thinks evil of good and righteous people and of friends of the good.

Thievery is this: a man who displays himself differently from what he is.

270 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka tawān ud wizīrēd ne xwāhišn ciš az[1] kārān, ce ke pad cār ciš az[2] kārān xwāhēd *ka[3] pad a-cār [*K212v*] xwāhēd ne windēd.

271 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw ciš ī ēdōn weh ce'ōn[1] hān ī hamē jāyēzēd (?)[2] ce anāgīh-ez harw pad be būd abāyēd[3] absihīdan.

272 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [ke] pad wināh ī mānēd pēšār (?) bawēd xwēštan az xwēšīh ī yazdān be ne barišn ud ō dēwān ne dahišn, ud ēn ne andēšišn ku man [*M533*] ēd rāy ka wināh pēšār (?) būd dēwān-xwēš hēm, ce ahreman ud dēwān ka mard wināh ī anabuhragān[1] kard ēstēd ud xwad tan[2] ō dēwān ne dahēd[3] ēg kam pad xwēš dārēnd ce'ōn mard-ē ke srōšō-caranām [*B420*] wināh kard ēstēd ud xwad tan ō dēwān dahēd ud pad xwēšīh ī dēwān dārēd.

273 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke harw ce kunēd ēwāz[1] yazdān rāy kunēd, harw ce'ōn kunēd pad-eš ahlaw bawēd.

274 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom ī ne pad dēn[1] ī yazdān ēstēnd [*K213r*] 2 ēwēnag, ēwag frēftār ud ēwag frēftag. frēftār hān bawēd ke hān ī hamē kunēd xwad dānēd ku ne kunišn ud waran ud tan-kāmagīh rāy kunēd. ud frēftag hān bawēd ke hān ī hamē kunēd pad frārōnīh warrawēd ēstēd ud ruwān rāy hamē kunēd. harw ke frēftār druwand ud frēftag ahlaw-ez bawēd.

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270 [1]B om. [2]B om. [3]MSS *ke*
271 [1]B repeats [2]spelled **y'wycyt** [3]**DP BRA**
272 [1]B **'n'pxlk'n** [2]B om. [3]**B YXBWNm**
273 [1]B + *rāy*
274 [1]K, B repeat

Robbery is this: a man who says of a property that does not belong to him: "Would that it were mine."

Covetousness is this: a man who does not desire the skill of another person.

Bad soul is this: a man who speaks that which is right but does not himself do it.

270

They held this too:[1] When a person has the power and can help it, he ought not to desire anything from other people. For a man who desires something from other people when he can help it, does not get it if he desires it when he cannot help it.

271

They held this too: Every thing that is good in this manner is like that which lives forever.[1] For every evil should be annihilated by (the sentence): "It was (and is no more)."

272

They held this too: A man by whom (?) a sin of negligence (?)[1] is committed (?)[2] should not remove himself from the possession of the gods and should not deliver himself to the demons. He should not think the following: "I belong to the demons because I committed (?) a sin." For a man who has committed a mortal sin, and who does not by himself surrender himself to the demons, is considered by Ahreman and the demons less as belonging to them than a man who has committed a *sraošōcarənā* sin and who, by himself, surrenders himself to the demons and regards himself as belonging to the demons.

273

They held this too:[1] A man who does everything for the sake of the gods alone, in whatever manner he does it he is righteous by it.

274

They held this too: People who do not adhere to the religion of the gods are of two kinds: One, a deceiver, and one, a deceived one. A deceiver is a man who knows by himself that what he is doing should not be done;

275 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [ka] uzdēs-parastišnīh be *absihihēd[1] mēnōg-warrawišnīh andak abāg be šawēd. ud[2] ka *wisāndagīh[3] ud a-sruštīh be zanihēd rāmišn andak abāg be šawēd.[4] ud ka šēwangarīh be zanihēd ēg mihr andak abāg be šawēd. pas ēdōn weh ka ēn 3[5] wināh cand ahe az gēhān be barihēd.

276 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku urwar-xwarišn bawēd šmāh mardomān ku dērzīwišn bawēd, ud az tan[1] ī gōspandān pahrēzēd [*M534*] ce āmār was, ēg ohrmazd ī xwadāy hayyārīh ī gōspandān [*K213v*] rāy urwar was dād.

277 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd pad ciš-ez ciš a-tawāngar ne[1] bawēd ud ne būd.

278 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahreman hamē[1] ne būd ud ne bawēd.

279 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd harw dām ī-š be[1] dād abdom abāz ō xwēš gīrēd.

280 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku āmār ī mēnōgān abar ēn 3[1] wāzag ku-t ce kāmist u-t kard u-t ke burzīd.

281 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān-ez ī wuzurg pad wināh-ē ēn abēr-tar druwand bawēd ka hān ī driyōš tar[1] menēd.

282 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī was-xwāstag-tom mardom ka dānēd xwardan ud dāštan ēg was-xwāstagīh rāy wināh[1] [*B421*] abar ne[2] šawēd, ud hān-ez ī driyōš-tar mardom ka ne dānēd xwardan ud dāštan pad xwāstag drahm-ē šāyēd be marg-arzānīh be[3] madan.

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275 [1]MSS *absihēd* [2-4]B om. [3]K s'ndkyx [4]cf. note 2 [5]B om.
276 [1]B TWRA
277 [1]DP om. from here to 278, n. 1.
278 [1]cf. 277, n. 1.
279 [1]B om.
280 [1]K, B om.
281 [1]*driyōš tar*: written as one word in K, B.
282 [1]*rāy wināh*: B repeats [2]B om. [3]DP om.

he does it out of greed and bodily desire. A deceived one is a man who believes that what he is doing stands in righteousness, and he is doing it for the sake of the soul. Every deceiver is *druwand;* a deceived one may even be *ahlaw.*

275

They held this too: When idol worship is annihilated, a little of the faith in the spiritual world departs with it. When schism (?) and disobedience are smitten, a little joy departs with them.[1] When plaintiveness is smitten, a little love departs with it. It is (however) after all better when these three sins are taken out of the world as soon as possible.[2]

276

They held this too: Be plant-eaters, you men, so that you may live long. Keep away from the body of cattle, for the reckoning is vast. Ohrmazd[1] the Lord created plants in great number for helping cattle.

277

They held this too: In no matter whatsoever is Ohrmazd powerless, and never was.

278

They held this too:[1] Ahreman never existed and does not[2] exist.

279

They held this too:[1] Ohrmazd will ultimately take back to himself every creature that he created.

280

They held this too: The Reckoning of the Spirits is concerned with these three sentences: "What did you desire? What did you do? Whom did you honour?"

281

They held this too: Even a great man becomes very much *druwand* by this one sin, namely, when he looks down with contempt upon a poor man.

282

They held this too: Sin does not accrue to a man of most abundant wealth when he knows how to use and keep it, (merely) on account of his abundance of wealth. The poorest man, (however), when he does not know

283 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt[1] ku was [mardom ke harw] ahlāyīh ī-š ast az [*K214r*] was-xwāstagīh,[2] ud was mardom ke harw druwandīh ī-š ast driyōšīh rāy.

284 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku be az wehān ēg didīgar az wattarān weh šāyēd būdan, pad hān ī ke[1] az wehān[2] wehīh wēnēd ud āmōxtēd, ud az wattarān wattarīh wēnēd ud az-eš be pahrēzēd.

285 [*M535*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān tuxšāg bawišn ku tā kāmag ī tan abāg ruwān be kunēnd, ce ke kāmag ī tan abāg ruwān ēg dēn[1] abāg tan, ud ke kāmag [ī ruwān][2] abāg tan ēg druz abāg ruwān.

286 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az wehān āzādīh ud spās gōwišn ud az wattarān gilag ne gōwišn.

287 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku az[1] dušaxw rāh-ē ō wahišt šawēd ud pad harw gāh hān rāh hu-bōy-tar[2] ku harw hu-bōy-ez[3] ī pad gēhān, ud pad hān rāh awēšān rawēnd ke pad wināh ciš barēnd ud az dušaxw be ō wahišt šawēnd.

288 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [*K214v*] ag-dēnān ud abārīg-ez harw mardom ke[1] *zandīg[2] dārišn gētīg amahraspandān pad xwardan ud dāštan az-eš abāz ne kunišn.

289 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke 1000 mard ī druwand[1] stāyēd ud andar āfrīgānīh[2] dāšt ēstēd ēg pad ruwān puhl kam ce'ōn ke moγ-mard-ē ahlaw pad druwand be abspārd[3] ēstēd.

283 [1]B + **kw'** [2]B om.
284 [1]DP *ka* [2]K om.
285 [1]B **ADYN** [2]supplemented by Sanjana
287 [1]B om. [2]K, B **xwbwxtl** [3]K, DP **xwbw'c**; B **xwb'c'**
288 [1]B **MN** [2]MSS **zyndk**
289 [1]K, B om. [2]B **'plyk'nyx** [3]MSS **'psp'lyt'**

how to use and keep (his property), may come to mortal sin through (the possession of) one *drahm*'s worth of property.

283

They held this too: Many are the people whose state of righteousness is from abundance of wealth; and many are the people whose state of wickedness is due to poverty.

284

They held this too: it is possible for a person to improve himself not only from (the example of) good people but also[1] from (that of) wicked people, by the fact that a man watches the goodness that comes from the good and learns therefrom, and watches the evil that comes from wicked people and keeps away from it.

285

They held this too: People should be diligent so that they may join their bodily desire to the soul. For a man whose bodily desire is joined to the soul, religion is with his body; and a man the desire [of whose soul] is joined to the body, has demons joined to his soul.

286

They held this too: One ought to speak the gratitude and thanks which are from good people, and not to complain of wicked people.

287

They held this too: One road leads from hell to paradise, and that road is at every point more fragrant than all the fragrance in the world. Those walk on that road who have some sin to carry and who go from hell to paradise.

288

They held this too: One ought not to withhold from people of bad religion and all other people who are to be regarded as *zandīg* the material elements[1] (which are) for using and possessing.

289

They held this too: A man who praises a thousand wicked people and holds them as trustworthy, the punishment to his soul is smaller than that of a man who treats one righteous priest as wicked.[1]

290 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hamē ka mard ciš ī frārōn ul menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd ēg abāg rōšnīh-ē[1] az-eš ul waxšēd[2] u-š parwānag[3] bawēd andar ō dēn. ud hamē ka mard ciš ī abārōn ul [*B422*] menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd ēg tam-ē az-eš ul āyēd ud andar mard ud dēn ul ēstēd ud mard dēn kam wēnēd.

291 [*M536*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy ka-š fradom mardom kard ēg-eš framān[1] a'ōn dād ku pad ēn tuxšāg bawēd ku ruwān bōzēd, ēg[2]-tān xīr ī tan amāh pad miyān kunēm, ce ruwān buxtan jud az šmāh ne wizīrēd. [*K215r*] mardom a'ōn wiyābān[3] hēnd ku xīr ī gētīg xwad abar tuxšēnd ud xīr ī ruwān abastān ō yazdān kunēnd.

292 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī driyōš mardom agar ōh ag-dēn ayāb ne frārōn rawišn ēg-ez-eš ciš[1] aweš dahišn ud ke dahēd pad bahr ī xwēš hān[2] druz[3] ī niyāz xwānēnd az gēhān[4] be kard u-š petyārag ud wizand az xwēš spuxt bawēd ud az-ez tan ī awe ne zāyēd hān kas ī ō[5] niyāzōmandīh rasēd.

293 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ādur-farnbag pad āhrōnān gāh kard ēstēd.[1] ādur-gušnasp pad ardēštārān[2] gāh kard ēstēd. ud ādur-burzēnmihr pad wāstryōšān[3] gāh kard ēstēd.

294 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tuxšag bawišn pāyrōzag[1] pad ham-pursagīh ī abāg wehān, ku tā hān ī ašnawēd be ne jōyēd, ce[2] ašnūdag[3] *ka[4] ham-pursagīh ī pāyrōzag andar nēst abēr-tar gugārihēd ku xurdad ud amurdad.

295 [*K215v*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku frawahr ī zardušt ī spitāmān pad hōm ud barsom tag ēstēd u-š niyāyišn pad ātaxš ī warhrān.

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290 [1]K *rōšnīh*; B *rōšnīh ī* (DP om. *abāg rōšnīh-ē* ?) [2]K wxšt [3]B plp'nk'
291 [1]B lp *fradom* [2]B, K ADYNš; DP *ēnyā* [3]B wd'p
292 [1]B om. [2]K repeats [3]B dlwcšn' [4]B, K + bwt [5]B om.
293 [1]B + *u-šān* [2]B *ardēštārīh* [3]B *wāstryōšīh*
294 [1]B *pāyrōz* [2]*ašnawēd be ne jūyēd ce*: B om. [3]K, B 'ŠMHWytk' [4]MSS MN

290

They held this too: Whenever a man thinks, speaks or acts something righteous, at the same time a brightness grows from it and it becomes in him his leader[1] towards religion.[2] Whenever a man thinks, speaks or acts something sinful, a darkness rises from it and stands between the man and religion, and the man sees the religion less.

291

They held this too:[1] When Ohrmazd the Lord first created man, He gave the following order to him: "Be diligent to save your souls; I shall then[2] provide for your bodily matters. For it is impossible to save your souls without you." People are deluded in the following manner: they themselves strive after material things, and as regards the things of the soul, they put their trust in the gods.

292

They held this too: Even if a poor man is of bad religion or not of righteous behaviour, one ought to give him something. A man who gives drives, for his own part, out of the world the demon called Want, and rejects from himself adversity and harm. There will not be born to him a man who will come to destitution.

293

They held this too: The fire Farnbag was made for the station of priests. The fire Gušnasp was made for the station of warriors. The fire Burzēnmihr was made for the station of husbandmen.[1]

294

They held this too: Be diligent daily in the consultation of good people, so that you may not chew[1] that which you hear. For when (an instruction) heard is not accompanied by daily consultation, it is digested (i.e. forgotten) more than water and plants.[2]

295

They held this too: The *frawahr* of Zoroaster, Son of Spitama, is strong through *haoma* and *barsom*. Its prayer is through the Warhrān fire.

296 [*M537*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku myazd stūrīh ī yazdān ud gāhānbār stūrīh ī dēn ud ātaxš ī warhrān stūrīh ī gayōmard.[1]

297 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku wihēzag pad ēn cim kard ēstēd ku ohrmazd[1] ō pēš bawēd ud ahreman ō pas kard, ahreman pad xīr ī ohrmazd abar ēstād[2] ud ne tawān bawēd ud abdom ahreman be absihēd.

298 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku harw[1] [*B423*] mardom ēn 5 ciš dānistan xwēškārīh ud ke ne dānēd ērangīhā. ēwag ēn ku ce hēm, mardom hēm ayāb dēw. ud ēwag ēn ku az ku mad hēm, az garōdmān ayāb az dušaxw. ud ēwag ēn ku abar ce ēstēm,[2] abar ciš ī yazdān ayāb[3] abar ciš ī dēwān. ud ēwag ēn ku pas ī ke hēm, pas ī wehān [*K216r*] ayāb pas ī wattarān. ud ēwag ēn ku abāz ō ku šawēm, abāz[4] ō wahišt šawēm ayāb abāz[5] ō dušaxw šawēm.[6]

299 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ke abastāg xwahēd[1] ud hu-xēm-tar ne bawēd, ud zand pursēd ud dānāg-tar ne bawēd, ud māndag garzēd ud a-wināh-tar ne bawēd, hān did pad kār ne uzmāyišn.

300 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ahreman pad ēn 3 ciš[1] abar kas-ez a-winast (?)[2] ne bawēd be ka xwad abar rasēd. [*M538*] ēwag menišn[3] ī dehbadān, ud ēwag ham-rasišnīh[4] ī wehān, ud ēwag zāyišn ī zaraθuštrōtemān.

301* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard cand wēšist ō mān ī ātaxšān šawišn ud ātaxš niyāyišn tarsagāhīhā kunišn, ce harw rōz amahraspndān 3 bār andar mān ī ātaxšān anjaman kunēnd ud kirbag ud ahlāyīh[1] anōh be hilēnd, ud ke wēš ō anōh šawēd ud ātaxš niyāyišn tarsagāhīh[ā] wēš kunēd ēg hān kirbag ud ahlāyīh ī yazdān[2] anōh be hilēnd[3] [*K216v*] pad tan mehmān-tar bawēd.

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296 [1]The order of the last two phrases is reversed in B:. . .*ud ātaxš ī warhrām stūrīh ī gayōmard, ud gāhānbār stūrīh ī dēn.*

297 [1]*ku ohrmazd*: B om. [2]K, B *ēstēd*

298 [1]B repeats [2]K *ēstēd* [3]*yazdān ayāb*: B above the line [4] B om. [5]B om. [6]B *šawēd*

299 [1]spelled **YPLXWNyt**

300 [1]B om. [2]B 'nst' [3]B *menišnīh* [4]B *ham-rasišn*

301 *The text is found in M51b fol. 251b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT Šnš* XX 1, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 393 [1]B + *harw ce* [2]M51b om. [3]M51b **ŠBKWNt**

296

They held this too: The *myazd* ritual is under the custody[1] of the gods. The *gāhānbār* festival is under the custody of religion. The Warhrān fire is under the custody of Gayōmard.

297

They held this too:[1] The calendar (?)[2] was made for this purpose, namely, that Ohrmazd should be at the fore and Ahreman should be at the rear. Ahreman stood up against the things of Ohrmazd, but shall not have the power, and he shall ultimately be destroyed.

298

They held this too:[1] Every man's duty is to know these five things; he who does not know them is under guilt. One is this: "What am I, a man or a demon?" One is this: "where have I come from, from paradise or from hell?" One is this: "What do I stand by,[2] by the things of the gods or by those of the demons?" One is this: "Whom do I follow, good people or wicked people?" One is this: "Where shall I go back, to paradise or to hell?"

299

They held this too: A man who recites[1] the Avesta and who does not become of better character, and one who inquires about *zand* and does not become wiser, and one who confesses a sin and does not become less sinful—that man need not again be tested.

300

They held this too:[1] By these three things Ahreman does not become undiluted (?)[2] (in attacking) any person, except when that person himself comes over (to Ahreman).[3] One, the mind of the rulers; one, the meeting of good people; and one, the birth of the high priests.[4]

301

They held this too:[1] A man ought to go as much as possible to the fire temple and to perform the fire ritual reverently. For the Amahraspands assemble three times every day in the fire temple, and deposit good deeds and righteousness there. A man who goes there more often, and who reverently performs more of the fire ritual, has the good deeds and the righteousness which the gods deposit there dwell more in his body.

302 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku *ke[1] kunēd 3 ciš ēn weh. ēwag ēn ke ēwāz wehīh rāy[2] frāz ō ham-pursagīh ī wehān šawēd. ēwag ēn ke[3] arz ud spās ud āzādīh ī wehān cand bawandag menēd ud gōwēd. ēwag ēn ke pad kamist harw rōz 3 bār pad tan ī xwēš nigerēd ku-m[4] yazd abāg hēnd[5] ayāb dēw, [*B424*] u-š agar yazd abāg hēnd andar tan mehmān-tar be kunēd, u-š agar dēw abāg hēnd az[6] tan ī xwēš a-pādexšāy kunēd.

303 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku pad hangerd ciš 2 agar agar ast, ud kas ke paygārēd ku wēš ast-ez, ēg-ez ēwag-ē ast 3 ciš: [ēwag] ēn ku harw kas wināh ī xwad dānēd ku wināh ud andar-ez šahr pad pādram dusrawēnīd ēstēd ud agar kas ast ke[2] kunēd puhl-ez[3] zanēnd, cand tawān az-eš be wardēd ud ne kunēd. [*K217r*] ud ēwag ēn ku harw kas hān [*M539*] kirbag ī xwad dānēd ku kirbag ud andar šahr pad pādram husrawēnīd ēstēd ud agar kas kunēd pādāšn-ez paydāg, cand tawān pad-eš tuxšāg. [ud ēwag ēn ku harw kas hān ciš ī] ne dānēd ku kirbag ayāb wināh ud andar šahr mardom pad frārōnīh ud abārōnīh ne ham-dranzišn hēnd ud pad gumānīh abar ēstēd, abāg[4] wehān uskārēd ud a'ōn ce'ōn wehān dastwar bawēnd kunēd ud jud az ham-pursagīh ī wehān fradom ne kunēd.[5]

304* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kas-ez mardom nēst ke ēn 3 ciš ka andar ēstēd ud az-eš pad gētīg bar ne wēnēd[1] ranz-ez[2] ī andar rāy az-eš ne ayāsēd. ēwag wafr ud wārān, ēwag diz ī kandāg drubuštīh kardan ud diz ī hanbār dāštan[3], ēwag driyōšīh. ce[4] hān-ez ī xradōmand-tom mardom[5] ēd rāy ce sūd ī frāz ō pēš ne wēnēd was ī ka anāgīh a'ōn wēnēd ku -[az] driyōšīh be ayāsēd, ud ka ranzagīh ī rasēd rāy[6] wārān ī [*K217v*] pad abzārīh ne kāmēd, frahist hān ī ka

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302 [1]MSS *ce* [2]B om. [3]B om. [4]K *ku az* [5]DP *hēm* [6]B repeats
303 [1]or *waxt*? [2]B om. [3]B *pad arz* [4]B om. [5]*ud jud az ham-pursagīh . . .ne kunēd*: B om.
304 *For the beginning of this section cf. the parallel text in 218. [1]218 *windēd* [2]DP *ranz* [3]*ēwag wafr ud wārān. . .hanbār dāštan*: B om. [4]B *abar* [5]B + *ku driyōšīh* [6]B *ne* [7]B *kirbag* [8]B om. [9]K has the

302
They held this too: A man who performs these three things is best. One, he goes to consultation with good people solely for the sake of goodness. One, he thinks and speaks as perfectly as possible of the value, gratitude and favour of good people. One, every day he considers himself at least three times in the following manner: "are there gods with me or demons?" If the gods are with him, he causes them to dwell more in his body; if the demons are with him he makes them powerless over his body.

303
They held this too: In summary there are two alternatives[1] in the matter. (If) a person contends that there are more, it is one of three things.
One is this: every person, as much as he can, abstains from, and does not commit, a sin which he himself knows to be a sin, and which in the world, among the populace,[2] is also condemned, and which, if done by someone, that person is punished.
One is this. every person strives, as much as he can, to perform a good deed which he himself knows to be a good deed, and which is praised in the world, among the populace, and which, if committed by someone, that person's reward is manifest.
[One is this: every person] asks the advice of good people, and acts in the same way as they maintain,[3] and does not act without first consulting them [concerning a thing with regard to which] he does not know whether it is a good work or a sin, and which is not unanimously pronounced by people in the world as either righteous or sinful, and with regard to which he is in doubt.

304
They held this too: There is no one who, when he stands in these three things, and fails to see their fruit in the material world, does not seek (to withdraw) from them because of the trouble that is in them. One is snow and rain; one is to fortify a fortress[1] surrounded by a moat and to maintain a fortress of provisions; and one is poverty. For even the wisest of men, because he cannot see the benefit that is further in front of him, often experiences such discomfort that he seeks (to withdraw) from poverty, and does not desire rain in abundance[2] on account of the

pad kandiz[7] ud diz ī hanbār dāštan ne pad kām. ud az hān 3 ciš 2 ciš[8] ī pad gētīg bar wēnihēd šāyēd[9] dānistan, ud ēwag tā ō āmār ī mēnōgān rasēd ne wēnihēd.

ud hān 2 ciš ī pad gētīg bar wēnihēd ēwag wafr ud wārān guft, ce wārān ka wārēd frahist[10] [*B425*] hān *ke[11] pad hān[12] gāh ka hamē wārēd sūd ciš ne paydāg ud ranz ī andar rāy harw kas az-eš be ayāsēd ud pad abē-sūd dārēd, ud ka ō frawardīn māh ud ardwahišt māh mad, ud jōrdāy ud gayāg ud xurmāg[13] rōyihēd[14] bar ī wārān, ud be ō paydāgīh āyēd [*M540*] harw ciš,[15] mardom kāmag a'ōn ku kāž pad ēn zamistān wārān wēš būd hēh, u-mān hān ranzagīh ī az wārān wēš būd hēh, u-mān nūn ēn[16] ābādānīh ud nēwagīh ud padēxwīh ud hu-zīwišnīh ī az bar ī wārān wēš dīd[17] hēh.

ud ēwag diz ī kandāg ud diz ī hanbār guft ēd rāy ce frahist hān ī ka kunihēd [*K218r*] ud sāzihēd sūd ī pad nāmcišt ne paydāg ud uzīnag was abar bawēd ud pas ka ēdōn jahēd ku dušman ō šahr[18] rasēnd[19] ud pānagīh ud *weh-dārišn[20] ī mardomān rāy diz pad kār andar abāyēd, mardom pad anbūh andar ō diz šawēnd, ad abē-bīmīh ī-šān az kardan ī hān diz az dušmanān ud tangīh ud anāgīh ī az wasīh ud abzārīh ī mardom ī andar hān diz wēnihēd rāy[21] frahist[22] hān mardom ke kāmag a'ōn ku-m kāž[23] xwēš ud mānīgān rāy diz-ē pad uzīnag[24] ī az xwēš kard ēstēh u-š an tanīhā[25] andar mānēm[26], ayāb-em[27] andar ēn diz uzīnag[28] az harw kas wēš kard ēstēh[29] ku padeš pādexšāy-tar hēm u-m az[30] harw kas gyāg frāxw-tar hēh.

ud hān ēwag ī pad gētīg bar ne wēnihēd driyōšīh guft,[31] ce driyōšīh pad gētīg harw kas az-eš be ayāsēd, ud [ka] mad ō āmār ī mēnōgān awe-z ī driyōš-tom mardom [*K218v*] kāmag a'ōn[32] ku kāž driyōš-tar būd hēh u-m anāgīh ī az driyōšīh wēš dīd ud burd [*B426*] hēh ud nūn[33] āmār andak ud xwār-tar abar būd hēh.

correct reading above the line [10]B repeats [11]MSS *ka* [12]B om. [13]K **TG**; B **TW** [14]spelled **lwdyšt** [15]B om. [16]B + **XT** [17]K, B **XZYTNyt** [18]B om. [19]B + *šahr* [20]K **wxš'l'n**; DP **wxš'lšn**; B **wxšl'n**; emendation suggested by Faravachi. [21]B om; K *ne* [22]B **l'st'** [23]B + **wšm** [24]K, DP **'wpynk'**; B **'wdcynk'** [25]B **tyx'** [26]B *mānēd* [27]K *ayāb az* [28]B *uzīn* [29]B *hēh* [30]K, B om. [31]B + *abar* [32]K *ēn* [33]B om.

suffering that comes with it, and, moreover, is not inclined (to occupy himself) with a fortress surrounded by a moat[3] and fortress of provisions. It is possible to know two of these three things, the fruit of which can be seen in the material world, (but the fruit of) one of them is not seen until one reaches the Reckoning of the Spirits.

One of the two things of which one sees the fruit in the material world was said to be snow and rain. For when it rains usually no benefit at all is manifest to those who are in that place when it rains, and every one seeks (to withdraw) from it and holds it as worthless because of the trouble that it contains. But when it comes to the months of Frawardīn and Ardawahišt, and there grow corn, grass and dates, the fruit of the rain, and every thing becomes manifest, the desire of people is as follows: "Would that there had been more rain this winter, and that we had suffered more trouble from the rain, so that we might see more of this abundance, goodness, affluence and well-being which come as some of the fruit of the rain."

One was said to be a fortress surrounded by a moat and a fortress of provisions, for this reason, that when it is being built and prepared its particular benefit is usually not manifest, and much expense is involved. When later an enemy happens to come to the kingdom, and there is need of the fortress for the protection and preservation of the people, people go to the fortress in a crowd. As one perceives their safety from the enemy through the fortress, the tightness and discomfort[4] caused by the multitude, and the abundance of people who are in the fortress, most people's desire is as follows: "Would that I had built a fortress at my own expense for myself and for my household, so that we might stay in it alone; or that I had spent more than anyone else on building this fortress, so that I might have the biggest holding in it, and that my place might be larger than that of everyone else."[5]

The one thing the fruit of which is not seen in the material world was said to be poverty. For everyone seeks (to withdraw) from poverty in the material world, but even the poorest of men, when he comes to the

305 [*M541*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mard hān farrox-tar ke cand šāyēd dušaxw pad gētīg be barēd ud mard *awe[1] ruwān ne spōzēd. u-šān pad gētīg [dušaxw] burdan ēd guft ku andar gēhān arg ud ranz ī mad ud ne wizīrēd be ka ōh kunihēd ud mardom pad cār[2] kāmagīhā aweš ne šawēnd jud az frēzbān, pad kām ī xwēš kāmagīhā[3] ul ō grīw padīrēd ud tuxšāgīhā kunēd. u-šān awe[4] arg[5] ud ranz rāy guft ku ēn-ez bawēd hayyārīh ud payagīh ud nān-xwarīh[6] ud āhangār ud band-kār ud gāzarīh ud pōstkarīh ud abārīg kār ī kārōgīhā[7] ud rīman[8] gyāg ī mardomān kardan pad bār bawēd.

306 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dard-ez ud anāgīh ī pad gētīg az dēw[1] waštīh ud wīmārīh aweš rasēd, ke[2] awe ke [*K219r*] aweš rasēd and kunēd ku awe anāgīh rāy yazdān kam ne menēd be a'ōn dārēd ku juttar ne šāyēd būdan, ce'ōn hān ī hamē wēdwar ud hunsand bawēd, ēg yazd dard ud anāgīh ī az waštīh ud wīmārīh ī aweš rasēd pad āmār ī mēnōgān pad-ez-eš[3] barēnd ud dārēnd ud az wināh ī kard be hangārēnd.

307 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku kōdag-ez anāgīh ud ziyān ī ahreman ud dēwān pad dāmān[1] ī ohrmazd kāmēnd kardan ka a'ōn ce'ōn kāmēnd ud mēnōgīhā ārāyēnd ēg-šān ō gētīg tawān hēh āwurdan, ēg hāmōyēn dām ī ohrmazd pad-eš be absihēnd. be a'ōn abarwēzīhā kunēnd ku hān-ez ī garān-tar [*M542*] pad mēnōg a'ōn ō rāh ud widarg rasēnd ud cārag xwāhēnd ku [*B427*] ka be ō gētīg mad ciš ī abēr xwār[2] abāz mānēd ud kam ziyān bawēd.[3]

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305 [1]MSS *ō* [2]B *cārag* [3]D, DP *kāmīhā* [4]B *ō* [5]B 'l'y [6]B *nān-* gwlyx [7]DP *kirrōgīhā* [8]DP l'mn'

306 [1]DP om. [2]DP *ka* [3]Could also be read *pad ciš*

307 [1]B *dām* [2]B xw' [3]B *bawēm*

Reckoning of the Spirits, has the following desire: "Would that I had been poorer, and that I had seen and suffered more of the discomfort of poverty, so that now the reckoning might be smaller and lighter for me."[6]

305

They held this too: That man is happiest who endures hell in the material world as far as it is possible, and who does not reject the soul. They said concerning "to endure [hell] in the material world": "He accepts upon himself willingly, by his own desire, and performs diligently in the world, the toil and trouble which comes and which cannot be avoided except by performing it, and which people do not approach willingly, except as a duty." They said concerning that toil and trouble: "It is even this: helping, doing the work of a courier, a servant, a blacksmith, a gaoler,[1] a fuller,[2] a tanner, and other work which is menially performed (?)[3] in impure places and which is a burden to people."

306

They held this too: (As to) the pain and misery which come in the material world from the ailment and disease of the demons: the man to whom they come, and who does not think less of the gods because of his misery, but maintains: "It cannot be otherwise", and is like someone who is always patient and content – in the Reckoning of the Spirits the gods will bear and maintain for him the pain and misery which have come to him and will deduct[1] them from the sins which he committed.

307

They held this too: Were Ahreman and the demons capable of bringing to the material world even a little of the misery and harm which they desire to cause to the creatures of Ohrmazd, in the manner in which they desire it and in the way in which they prepare it in *mēnōg*, they would destroy the whole creation of Ohrmazd by that. But (the gods) act in such a triumphant manner that they come to be in the way and path even of that which is most grievous in *mēnōg*; and they seek a device so that when it comes to the material world (only) something very insignificant remains, and little harm is done.

308 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku tuxšāg ud xwāstār bawišn pad rūrag rūrag[1] ud darmān dānistan ce az [*K219v*] hu-šnāsīh[2] ī rūrag ud darmān ka andar gēhān waštīh ud wīmārīh ast ī cārag ne šāyēd xwāstan be barēnd. ēnyā[3] ohrmazd ī xwadāy waštīh[4] ud wīmārīh ī ahreman ō gēhān āwurd harw ēwag-ē rāy dārūg[5] dād ī waštīh ud wīmārīh a'ōn be zanēd ce'ōn nān ud āb gursagīh ud tišnagīh zanēd ud abāz dārēd.

309 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku abdom-ez ciš ī pad a-marg kardan ī dāmān andar abāyēd rūrag ud darmān.[1]

310 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar dēn[1] harw kas tawān ēstādan ud be šudan ne bōzāgīhā, ce harw ce'ōn mard kāmēd ō kāmag šāyēd sāxtan. ce[2] agar mard ciš az[3] kāmag a'ōn ku abēr āzād-mard ud wuzurg-xwāstag [bawēm], ēg ka ēn abāg kunēd ku rād ud was-yazišn ud pādexšāy ud tawān xwāstag ī was dāštan, [ēg pad hān ham ciš ahlaw bawēd].

ud agar [mard] ciš *az[4] kāmag a'ōn ku abēr driyōš ud xwār-xwardīg ud xwār-wastarg ud andak- [*K220r*] uzīnag[5] bawēm, ēg ka ēn abāg kunēd ku ke ne a'ōn ne *awwēnēd[6] ud tar[7] ne menēd, ēg pad hān ham ciš ahlaw bawēd.

ud agar mard ciš az[8] kāmag a'ōn[9] ku was-abastāg ud was-zand ud kard- [*M543*] ērbadestān bawēm, ēg ka[10] ēn abāg kunēd ku cāšīdār ud was-abzōn bawēd, ēg pad hān ham ciš ahlaw bawēd.

ud agar mard ciš *az[11] kāmag a'ōn ku was-abastāgīh ud was-zandīh ne kunēm, ēg ka ēn abāg kunēd ku kār pad framān ī radān kunēd, ēg pad hān [*B428*] ham ciš ahlaw bawēd.

311 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ohrmazd ī xwadāy ēn gēhān pad dānāgīh kard ud pad frazānagīh ud mardābagīh dārēd ud abdom pad-eš šād[1] bawēd.

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308 [1]DP om. [2]B **xwšnt'syx** [3]DP **ADYNš** [4]K **wštx** [5]DP *dārūg-ē*

309 [1]B *dāmān*; K repeats to correct an uncertain writing of the word at first

310 [1]B om. [2]K **MN** [3]*ciš az*: DP *az ēn ke* (here and in the following; in the following also B likewise) [4]*ciš *az*: cf. note 3; here K also like B, DP. [5]B *andak-uzīn* [6]MSS **'wkynyt'** (could be read **āhōgēnēd*) [7]B **tlg** [8]MSS *ke* [9]K *ēn*; B + *ēn* [10]*ēg ka*: B *agar mard az* [11]MSS *ke*

311 [1]K, B **š'yt'**

308

They held this too:[1] One ought to be diligent and eager to know each medicinal plant and drug; for by knowing medicinal plants and drugs, one may abolish ailments and diseases in the world against which there is no (other) stratagem. Besides,[2] Ohrmazd the Lord created a medicine for each ailment and disease which Ahreman brought to the world. This medicine smites the ailment and disease in the same way as bread and water smite and keep away hunger and thirst.

309

They held this too: The ultimate thing necessary for causing the creatures to be immortal is medicinal herbs and drugs.

310

They held this too: Every person is capable (both) to stand in the religion and to depart from it unsaved (?),[1] for it is possible to achieve one's desire as one wishes. For if a man's desire is: "I shall become exceedingly noble and wealthy", then if he is at the same time generous and pious, and has the capacity and power to possess much wealth, he becomes *ahlaw* through that very thing.

If a man's desire is: "I shall become exceedingly poor, with meager food, light clothing and little expense," then, if at the same time he does not reproach those who are not like this and does not despise them, he becomes *ahlaw* through that very thing.

If a man's desire is: "I shall become possessor of much Avesta and Zand, and a man who has frequented the *ērbadestān*", then if he becomes at the same time a teacher and a man of bounty, he becomes *ahlaw* through that very thing.

If a man's desire is: "I shall not study much Avesta and Zand", then if he acts at the same time by the order of the chiefs, he becomes *ahlaw* through that very thing.

311

They held this too: This world was created by Ohrmazd the Lord with knowledge. He maintains it with sagacity and manliness; ultimately He will become joyful[1] through it.

312 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dānāgān a'ōn guft ku ciš ī xrad frazānagīh ud mardābagīh ud ēmēdag[1] ī fraškerd.

313* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku xrad gōhr ēdōn ce'ōn [*K220v*] ātaxš, ce andar ēn gēhān ciš[1] nēst ī ēdōn *bawandag[2] bawēh ce'ōn hān ciš ī pad xrad kunihēd,[3] ud ātaxš-ez harw ku abrōzēnd [ke] az dūr wēnēd buxt ud ēraxt paydāg kunēd, ud ke pad[4] ātaxš buxt jāyēdān buxt, ud ke pad ātaxš ēraxt jāyēdān ēraxt.

314* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku [hān] xēm ke xrad andar nēst ēdōn[1] mānāg[2] ce'ōn xānīg-ē rōšn ud an-āhōg ke bast ēstēd ud ō kār ne hamē šawēd. ud hān xēm ke xrad abāg a'ōn mānāg[2] ce'ōn xānīg-ē rōšn ud an-āhōg ke[3] tuxšāg mard abar ēstēd ud andar ō kār kunēd ud be ō[4] warz bandēd ud bar ō gēhān dahēd.

315 [*M544*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ka[1] mard dādestān be wirāyēd pad kardan ud andar ō kār kunēd[2] ēg hān[3] druz ke pēš wināh kard az tan ī awe mard ēstēd ud be barēd ud be ō[4] druz ī mēnog dwārēd ud pēš ī druz ī mēnōg frō[5] ēstēd, ud az anōh abar awe mard ke az tan be dwārist wardēd ud xwānēd ud wāng kunēd[6] ud ēn nimāyēd ku pad hān ī-t[7] kard abaxš bāš[8] ud az nūn frāz ma kun ce drōzanīhā [kardan abāyēd?], [*K221r*] ayāb a'ōn nimāyēd[9] ku ce'ōn hān ī-t kard[10] kun. ud agar pad hān ī kard ud hān-ez ī kāmēd kardan mard az-eš abaxš bawēd, ēg druz abāz ō tan dwārēd ud pas hān tan abar-tar wināhēd ud wattar kunēd ce'ōn hān ī pēš. ud agar ka[11] xwānēd pas-ez mard az xīr ī [*B429*] yazdān be ne ēstēd, ēg hān druz pad ham druz ī mēnōg gīrihēd ud škast ud wanē ud a-paydāg bawēd.

316 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ērbadestān kardan ne wad men, ce ērbadestān kardan zīndagīh ī mardomān.

312 [1]B *ēmēd*

313 *The text of this section occurs also in M51b fol. 251b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 2, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 394 [1]B + **lt'y** [2]MSS **BRA**, so also M51b; West apparently had a version *bawandag* [3]K *kunēd* [4]B om.

314 *The text of this section is found also in M51b fol. 251b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 3, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 394 [1]B om. [2]B, M51b *humānāg* [3]B om. [4]M51b om.

315 [1]K *ke* [2]B om. [3]B om.; cf. also next note [3–4]*hān druz ke pēš . . .be barēd ud be ō*: K om. [5]DP **pl** [6]B + **w'ng m'yyt** [7–9]*i-t kard abaxš bāš. . .a'ōn nimāyēd*: B om. [8]K *bawišn* [9]cf. note 7 [10]B + *zīw(ēd)* [11]K, B *ke*

312

They held this too: The sages spoke thus: "The thing of wisdom is this: sagacity, manliness and the hope of the Renovation."

313

They held this too: The substance of wisdom is similar to that of fire. For nothing in this world may become so perfect as that which is done by wisdom. Similarly, wherever fire is kindled, it manifests the man whom it sees from afar as "innocent" or "guilty".[1] A man who is "innocent" by fire is eternally innocent, a man who is "guilty" by fire, is eternally guilty.

314

They held this too: (Good) character which does not contain wisdom is like a bright and uncontaminated well which is blocked and does not work. (Good) character which is associated with wisdom is like a bright and uncontaminated well over which a diligent man sets to work; he puts it into action, ties it to agricultural work and it gives fruit to the world.

315

They held this too: When a man disciplines (his adherence to) the law by action, and puts it into practice, the demon who formerly[1] committed sins departs from his body. It carries (the sin) off, rushes to the spiritual demon and stands[2] in front of him, and turns from there towards the man from whose body he rushed, calls to him, cries, and shows (the following:) "Renounce what you have done, and do not do it henceforth, for you ought to act deceitfully". Or he shows (as follows:) "Act in the same way as you acted (before)". If the man renounces that which he has done and which he desires to do, the demon rushes back to the body and spoils and corrupts it more than it was before. If the man does not desist from the things of the gods when (the demon) calls him, the demon is snatched by the same spiritual demon and is smashed, destroyed and annihilated.

316

They held this too: Do not consider attending the *ērbadestān* as bad; for attending the *ērbadestān* is the life of the people.

317* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān ēn[1] 3[2] ciš harw rōz[3] ōh[4] kunišn[5] nasuš[6] az tan[7] be kardan ud pad dēn āstawān būdan ud kirbag kardan. nasuš az tan[8] be kardan ēd[9] pēš az xwaršēd ul āyēd dast ud rōy[10] šustan, ud āstawānīh[10] ēd[11] xwaršēd yaštan, ud kirbag kardan ēd[12] xrafstar ē-cand be ōzadan.

318 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku andar gēhān abē-wināh[1] ud an-anbasān[2] rawišn, ce ciš ēn 2 ēwag tan ud ēwag [*K221v*] ruwān.

319 [*M545*] u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku sūr stabr xwarišn ud *pāk[1] xwarišn ud cābuk sāzišn ud pad arzānīgīh xwarišn ud pad[2] huniyāgīh xwarišn ud bawandag xwarišn ud abāg yazdān xwarišn ud az kas-ez ne tarsišn.

sūr stabr xward ēd guft ku pad hān ī mad ēstēd[3] hunsand.

pāk xward ēd[4] ku az hān ī dādīhā bahr ud niyābag ī xwēš pad ēwēn xwarēd.

cābuk sāxt ēd pad ēwēn ārāstan.

pad [*B430*] arzānīgīh xward ēd nērōg ud abzōn ī pad xwēš-kārīh rāy xward xwēš-kārīh pad-eš kardan.

pad huniyāgīh xward ēd frāxw-menišnīhā[5] xwardan ud dādan.

bawandag xward ēd bawēd tan hanbār ī ruwān ham-dahišnīhā[6] xwardan.

abāg yazdān xward ēd bawēd abāg wehān xwardan.

u-šān[7] az kas-ez ne tarsīd[8] ēd guft abē-wināh[9] būdan, ce ka mard abē-wināh bawēd ēg az kas-ez ne tarsišn.

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317 *The text of this section is found in M51b fol. 251b f., cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 4, cf. *SBE*, V, 394. A NPers version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 173, No. 20. [1]B om. [2]B *2* [3]*harw rōz*: M51b om. [4]B om. [5]B + *ēg-eš* [6]NPers. version nsrwš; cf. Bthl. ibid. [7]M51b + *dūr* [8]M51b + *dūr* [9]M51b + *ku* [10]M51b + *pad gōmēz ud āb*, NPers. version *ba-dastšū va-āb* [11]M51b *pad dēn āstawān būd[an]* [12]M51b + *ku* [13]M51b + *ku*

318 [1]B *abē* [2]K, B 'n'nbst'

319 [1]MSS pyt'k (cf. in the second part of the section *pāk*) [2]MSS + *a-wināhīh* (which does not figure in the second part of the section) [3]B *ēstēnd* [4]B + *guft* [5]B *frāxw-menišnīh* [6]B *ham-dahišnīh* [7]B + *ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt* [8]B *tarsišn* [9]B *a-wināh*

317

They held this too: People ought to do these three things every day in this manner: to drive (the demon of) putrefaction[1] from their body; to profess the faith of the religion; and to perform good deeds. "To drive (the demon of) putrefaction from their body" is this: to wash one's hands and face before sunrise.[2] "Profession of faith" is this: to worship the sun.[3] "To perform good deeds" is this: to kill several reptiles.

318

They held this too: One ought to live in the world without sin and in harmony.[1] For the thing consists of these two (elements): one is the body and one is the soul.

319

They held this too:[1] One should eat a hearty meal, eat clean food, prepare a dainty meal, eat in a worthy manner, eat with pleasure, eat perfectly, eat with the gods, and not fear any one.

"He ate a hearty meal" was said to mean this: he is content with that which has come.

"He ate clean food" means this: he eats according to (accepted) custom of that which is lawfully his share and which is appropriate to him.

"He prepared a dainty meal" means this: to make ready according to (accepted) custom.

"He ate in a worthy manner" means this: he ate for the sake of (gaining) power and bounty for doing his duty, so that he may do his duty by that.

"He ate with pleasure" means this: to eat and to give with a broad mind.

"He ate perfectly" means this: to eat (so as to make) the body the storehouse of the soul, by giving jointly (to both) (?).

"He ate with the gods" means this: to eat with good people.

"He did not fear anyone", they said, means this: to be without sin, for when a man is free from sin he should fear no one.

320 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hamīh mādiyān ēd [*K222r*] bawēd *ke[1] menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn āgnēn rāst dārēd ud wizihīdagīh[2] ēd bawēd ke harw druz az tan be kard bawēd ud abāz ō tan ne hilēd.

321 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku hān ī yahūd ēwāz yahūdīh ud abārīg ag-dēn ēwāz ag-dēnīh[1] rāy druwand ne bawēnd.

322* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardomān[1] 3 xwēš-kārīh ī [*M546*] mahist ēn-ez ēdōn,[2] hān ī dušman dōst kardan ud hān ī druwand[3] ahlaw kardan ud hān ī duš-āgāh dānāg kardan.

dušman dōst kardan ēd ke[4] xīr ī gētīg pēš dārēd u-š pad menišn dōst bawēd.[5] ud druwand ahlaw kardan ēd ke[6] wināh ke [*B431*] pad-eš [kas] druwand bawēd az-eš be wardēnēd. duš-āgāh dānāg kardan ēd ke[7] xwēš-tan a'ōn[8] be wirāyēd ku-š hān ī duš-āgāh abar āmōxtēd.[9]

323* u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku mardom[1] ruwān[2] ō ēn[3] 3 gyāg abēr-tar kunišn, ō dar ī hu-dānāgān ud ō dar ī wehān ud ō dar ī ātaxšān. ō dar ī dānāgān[4] pad ēn[5] ku tā dānāg-tar ud dēn pad tan mehmān-tar bawēd. ud ō dar ī wehān pad ēn ku tā[6] [*K222v*] pad wehīh ud wattarīh āgāh bawēd[7] ud wattarīh az-eš be barēd. ud ō dar ī ātaxšān pad ēn ku tā druz ī mēnōg az-eš be wardēd.

324 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku dēn abāg mānθr a'ōn paywast ud an-anbasān[1] ēstēd ce'ōn gōšt abāg pōst ud rag[2] abāg carm.

320 [1]K, DP *ku*; B om. [2]B wycyxyt'x

321 [1]K, DP *a-dēnīh*

322 *The text of this section occurs also in M51b fol. 252a; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 71; West, *SBE*, V, p. 394f. *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 6-7. [1]M51b + *ēn* [2]*ēn-ez ēdōn*: M51b om. [3]K *druz* [4]M51b *ku-š* [5]M51b *dārēd* [6]M51b *ku-š* [7]M51b *ku-š* [8]B om. [9]M51b *āmōzēd*

323 *The text of this section occurs also in M51b fol. 252a; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, p. 71; *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 8-9, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 395. [1]M51b *mardomān* [2]M51b *rawišn* [3]K, B om. [4]M51b *hu-dānāgān* [5]*pad ēn*: M51b om. [6]B + s'yt [7]*āgāh bawēd*: M51b om.

324 [1]K, B 'n'bst' [2]spelled l'k'

320

They held this too:[1] "Being together", in substance, is this: a man who jointly maintains as true his thought, speech and action. "Being separate" is this: a man who has turned out of his body every demon, and who does not let them back.

321

They held this too:[1] A Jew is not wicked merely on account of his Jewish faith, and followers of other bad religions are (likewise) not wicked merely on account of their bad religions.

322

They held this too: These are the three greatest duties of men: to turn an enemy into a friend; to turn a wicked person into a righteous one; and to turn an ignorant man into a sage. "To turn an enemy into a friend" is this: a man who keeps the things of the material world in front and becomes their friend in thought.

"To turn a wicked person into a righteous one" is this: a man who causes [someone] to turn away from a sin through which he might become wicked.

"To turn an ignorant man into a sage" is this: a man who disciplines himself in such a manner that an ignorant man learns from him.[1]

323

They held this too: It is necessary to direct a man's soul mostly to these three places: the houses of sages, the houses of good people, and the houses of fire. To the houses of sages, so that he may become wiser and that the religion may dwell more in his body; to the houses of good people, so that he may be aware of good and evil and that evil may be carried away[1] from him; to the houses of fire, so that the spiritual demon may turn away from him.

324

They held this too:[1] The religion is bound to the sacred word and is in harmony with it in the same way as flesh is with skin and as a vein[2] is with its enveloping hide.

325 u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt ku ne ērbad bawēd[1] [hān] ī ka mard xwēš-tan be aweš dahēd ēg pad gētīg ahlaw ne kunēd.

A1 ēn-ez guft ku ke cis az yazdān abaxšāyēd ō dēwān, ud ke az wehān abaxšāyēd ō wattarān, ud ke az xwēš-tan abaxšāyēd ō dušmanān rasēd.

A2* [*M547*] ēn-ez guft ku ke[1] kunišn ō ruwān, ēg-eš gētīg xwēš ud mēnōg xwēš-tar, ud ke kunišn ō tan mēnōg pad kām[2] hilēd ud gētīg a-kāmōmandīhā[3] az-eš stānēnd.

A3 ēn-ez guft ku harw kas driyōš-ē pad dāšt [an] ō bun, ud hān driyōš ruwān ī xwēš.

A4* baxt-āfrīd[1] guft ku harw dahišn-ē ohrmazd ō[2] hamēstārīh[3] ī ēwag petyārag ud padīdīgīh[4] ō [*K223r*] hamēstārīh ī harw druz dād[5] ēstēd.

A5 ādurbād ī mahraspandān guft ku hagrez hēc [*B432*] anāgīh ō man ne mad ke-m[1] pad 6 dar[2] rāmišn az-eš ne padīreft.

fradom ēn ku-m āzādīhā ku-m anāgīh ēn ce az ēn wattar šāyēd būdan.

didīgar ēn ku az anāgīh ī man rāy dāšt ēstēd ēwag widārd.

sedīgar ēn ku-m anāgīh ne ō ruwān be ō tan mad ce pad tan widārdan[3] xwār-tar šāyēd ku pad ruwān.

cahārom ēn ku-m āzādīhā *ku[4] man mard-ē ēdōn nēwag hēm ku gujastag[5] ahreman ēn anāgīh pad man wehīh ī man rāy[6] kard.

panjom ēn ku harw wadīh-ē ayāb anāgīh-ē[7] kard ō xwad ayāb ō frazandān rasēd, ō man mad ud ō frazandān ī man ne rasēd.

šašom ēn ku ganz ī ahreman purr az anāgīh ī wehān rāy dāšt ēstēd, ud harw ce ō man mad az ganz ī ahreman kast u-š pad weh-ē did kardan ne tawān.

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325 [1]B + y'n'

A2 *The text of this section occurs in M51b fol. 252a-b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŚnŠ* XX 10, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 395. [1]K, B om. [2]M51b *kāmag* [3]M51b *a-kāmīhā*

A3 [1]MSS PWN

A4 *The text of this section occurs also in M51b fol. 252b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71f.; *SupT ŚnŠ* XX 11, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 395f. A NPers. version is found in M52, cf. Bthl., op. cit., p. 83f. [1]B + *ēd pad* [2]M51b om. [3]B *hamēstārān* [4]M51b *padīdīg* [5]M51b *būd*

A5 [1]K *ke* MN; B *cis* [2]B BRA [3]B wt'ltl [4]MSS *ka* [5]spelled gcw'stk' [6]B LA [7]B *anāgīh*

325

They held this too: That man is not an *ērbad* who, when a person surrenders himself to him, does not make him righteous in the material world.

A1

This too was said: When a man withholds[1] something from the gods, it comes to the demons; when he withholds something from good people, it comes to bad people; when he withholds something from himself, it comes to his enemies.

A2

This too was said: A man whose action is for the soul, the material world is his and the spiritual world is even more his. A man whose action is for the body forsakes the spiritual world by his own will and the material world is taken from him against his will.

A3

This too was said: Every person has at (his) root[1] a poor one for keeping. That poor one is his own soul.

A4

Baxt-Āfrīd said:[1] Ohrmazd created every single creation to counter one adversary; He created confession of sins to counter every one of the demons.

A5

Ādurbād, son of Mahraspand, said:[1] Never has a misfortune come to me out of which I have not obtained joy in six ways.[2]

The first one is this: I am thankful[3] that this is my misfortune, for it might have been worse than this.

The second one is this: One of the misfortunes held in store for me is passed.

The third one is this: Misfortune has come not to my soul but to my body; for it is possible to endure it in the body more easily than in the soul.

The fourth one is this: I am thankful that I am so good a man that the accursed Ahreman brought this misfortune upon me because of my goodness.

A6a* ud ēn-ez guft[1] ku gētīg rāy wāg(?)[2] ne barišn[3] [*K223v*] ud pad ciš-ez ne dārišn ud az dast ne [*M548*] hilišn.

ud wāg(?) ēd rāy ne barišn ce harw[4] hān ī brihēnīd ēstēd be rasēd.

ud pad ciš-ez ēd rāy ne dārišn ce wardišnīg[5] ast ud be hištan abāyēd.

ud az dast ēd rāy ne hilišn ce mēnōg pad gētīg ō xwēš šāyēd kardan.

A6b* ud abar-ez ēn nigerišn[1] mardomān ce harw ciš cār[2] ast be margīh, ud harw ciš be wizīrēd[3] be druwandīh, ud harw ciš be sazēd[4] be ahlāyīh, ud harw ciš wirāstan šāyēd be gōhr, ud harw ciš[5] wardēnīdan[6] šāyēd be bagōbaxt.

A6c ud mardomān xwāstag xrad ud pānag [*B433*] xēm ud hanbār kirbag weh, ce ēdar drang[1] andak ud ēwarz zūd, ud anōh dādwar rāst ud abām ne windēd. ud abēr tuxšāg[2] bawišn pad ābādīh ud padēxwīh ud ahlāyīh ud kirbag, ce [ke] ēdar abāg anōh, anōh abāg anōh.

A6d ham-paccēn ī az nāmag ī ādurbād ī mahraspandān bawēd[3] ī pad hampursagīh ī pōryōtkēšān mad ud ēstād hēnd kardan.

B1 paydāg ku harw nēwagīh ohrmazd ud harw anāgīh[1] ahreman [*K224*] dād.

A6a *This section is found in M51b fol. 252b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; ***SupT*** *ŠnŠ* XX 12-13, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 396. A NPers. version is in M55, M52, cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 172, No. 18. [1]B om. [2]M55 *pāk*; M52 *bāk*; cf. Bthl.'s note ad loc.; M51b w'k. [3]B repeats [4]M51b om. [5]M51b *sāzišnīg*; NPers. version *sāziš*

A6b *This section is found in M51b fol. 252b (though it does not directly follow **A6a** in that MS). Also in ***SupT*** *ŠnŠ* XX 17, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 396. [1]B *nigerēd* [2]M51b *cārag* [3]M51b *gumīg* [4]Here the text of M51b stops abruptly [5]B *ce* [6]B, ŠnŠ *wardīdan*

A6c [1]B *šawēnd* xyn' [2]K twxš'; DP txš' [3]B *būd*

B1 [1]K, B + *áz*

The fifth one is this: Every evil or misfortune done comes either to oneself or to one's descendants; it has come to me and will not come to my descendants.

The sixth one is this: The store of Ahreman is full of misfortune which he keeps for good people; whatever has come to me has reduced the store of Ahreman, and he will not be able again to do it to a good man.

A6a

He also said this: One ought not to have fear for the material world, or to regard it as anything, or to let it go from one's hands.

Not to fear for it for this reason, that whatever is decreed shall come.

Not to regard it as anything for this reason, that it is inconstant and that one should let it off.

Not to let it go from one's hands for this reason, that it is possible to make the spirit one's own in the material world.

A6b

Consider this too, o men: from every thing there is a way of escape, except from death; every thing can be controlled, except wickedness; every thing is transient except righteousness; every thing can be disciplined, except substance; every thing can be turned away, except the decree of the gods.

A6c

The best wealth to men is wisdom; the best defence, character; the best store, good deeds. For[1] here the span is short and the conveyance[2] fast, and there the judge is just and you do not get credit.[3] You ought to be diligent in prosperity and abundance, in righteousness and good deeds, for a man who is "here" with "there", is "there" with "there".[4]

A6d

(This is) a copy[1] from the book of Ādurbād son of Mahraspand, which they came and set out to do by consultation with the upholders of the early faith.[2]

B1

It is manifest: Every good thing was created by Ohrmazd and every bad thing was created by Ahreman.

B2 ēn-ez paydāg ku ohrmazd ud dāmān[1] ī ohrmazd harw nēwagīh ī-šān ast az dahišn ī ohrmazd ud harw anāgīh ī-šān ast az ahreman.

B3 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ahreman ud dāmān[1] ī ahreman and nēwagīh ī-šān ast az[2] dahišn ī ohrmazd ud and[3] anāgīh ī-šān ast az xwēš.[4]

B4* ud ēn-ez paydāg ku frēdōn az-dahāg ōzadan kāmist, ohrmazd guft ku-š nūn[1] ma ōzan[2] ce purr ī ēn zamīn[3] xrafstar [*M549*] bawēd.

B5 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku zardušt a-ōšīh xwāst, ohrmazd guft ka tō nūn a-ōš kunēm fraškerd kardan ne šāyēd.

B6 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku fraškerd zamān rāy[1] būd ka az-dahāg ī ēdōn marg-arzān rāy ohrmazd guft ku-š ma ōzan[2] ud zardušt ī ēdōn weh wirāstag būd[3] a-ōš ne *kard.[4]

B7* ud ēn-ez paydāg ku pahlom ciš rāstīh ud wattom ciš drōzanīh.

B8* ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ast ke rāst[1] gōwēd pad-eš druwand bawēd, ud ast ke[2] drōg gōwēd pad-eš ahlaw bawēd.

B9* ud ēn-ez paydāg ku[1] ke[2] ātaxš[3] ōzanēd[4] [*K224v*] wināh, ud ast ke ōzanēd weh.

B2 [1]DP **d'nm'n**

B3 [1]DP **d'nm'n** [2]B om. [3]B *harw* [4]B *ahreman*

B4 *The text of this section is found in M51b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŚnŠ* XX 18, cf. West, *SBE*, p. 397. [1]B om; K *nōg*; (DP *ma nūn*?) [2]B, (DP?) *ōzad* [3]B *zamīg*

B6 [1]K, B om. [2]B *ōzad* [3]B *bawēd* [4]K, B *kardan*

B7 *The text of **B7**, **B8** occurs in M51b fol. 252b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŚnŠ* XX 14, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 396. A NPers. version is in M52, cf. Bthl., op. cit., p. 82f., and another NPersian version of **B7-B10** is in M55 and M52, cf. Bthl., op. cit., p. 173, No. 22.

B8 *cf. note to **B7** [1]B + *bawēd* [2]MSS *ku*, but M51 *ke*, cf. Bthl., loc. cit.

B9 *The text of this section occurs in M51b fol. 252b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, p. 71; *SupT ŚnŠ* XX 15, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 369. A NPers version is in M52, cf. Bthl., op. cit., p. 83; and cf. note to **B7**. [1]B + *ciš ku* [2]M51b om. [3]MSS 'tš, but M51b 'txš [4]M51b *ne ōzanišn ce*; thus also M52

B2

This too is manifest: Every good thing that Ohrmazd and his creatures possess is from the creation of Ohrmazd, and every bad thing that they possess is from Ahreman.

B3

This too is manifest: As much as Ahreman and his creatures possess of good things comes from the creation of Ohrmazd, and as much as they possess of bad things is of their own.

B4

This too is manifest: Frēdōn desired to kill Aži Dahāk. Ohrmazd said: "Do not kill him now, for this earth may become full of reptiles".[1]

B5

This too is manifest:[1] Zoroaster desired immortality. Ohrmazd said: "If I make you immortal now, it will not be possible to make the Renovation".

B6

This too is manifest: It was on account of the time of the Renovation that Ohrmazd said concerning Aži Dahāk, who is so worthy of death: "Do not kill him"; and that he did not give immortality to Zoroaster, who was so good and proper.

B7

This too is manifest: The best thing is truthfulness, the worst thing is lie.

B8

This too is manifest: There is a man who speaks the truth and who becomes wicked by that; and there is a man who tells a lie and becomes righteous by that.[1]

B9

This too is manifest: When a man extinguishes a fire, it is a sin; (but) sometimes when a man extinguishes (a fire), it is good.

B10* ud ēn-ez paydāg ku [*B434*] ciš ō wattarān ne abāyēd dādan,[1] ud ast ka[2] hān ī[3] pahlom ud xwaš-tar xwardīg ō wattarān dahišn.

B11 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku kirbag kardan ud wināh[1] pādefrāh hangām ud zaman hān weh dānēd ke pad āsn-xrad ud gōšosrūd-xrad abar nigerīdan dānēd.

B12 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku[1] harw ke pad āsn-xrad abar dānēd nigerīdan ēg hān ciš ī az[2] abastāg ud zand paydāg weh dānēd ud harw *ce[3] pad gōšosrūd-xrad paydāg weh dānēd.

B13 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ke pad harw 2 xrad dānēd nigerīdan harw ciš ī būd ud bawēd weh dānēd,

B14 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku be ke dānēd ku ce wehīh ud ce petyārag ēnyā wināh be ne dānēd burdan.

[1] ce rādīh wehīh, u-š wanēgarīh petyārag.
[2] [*M550*] wistāxwīh wehīh, u-š wastārīh petyārag.
[3] yazišn ī yazdān wehīh, u-š dēw-īzagīh petyārag.
[4] ātaxš ī warhrān wehīh, u-š [*K225r*] uzdēs petyārag.
[5] rāmišn ī mardomān ud niwāxtag[1] ī *wehān[2] wehīh,[3] u-š a-srušt ud wisāndagīh[4] petyārag.
[6] mēnōg-warrawišnīh wehīh, u-š uzdēs-parastīh petyārag.
[7] tuxšāgīh wehīh, u-š a-hunsandīh ud widangīh petyārag.
[8] bawandagīh wehīh, u-š frēhbūd petyārag.
[9] fšōnišn wehīh, u-š panīh petyārag.
[10] weh-dēnīh[5] wehīh, u-š ag-dēnīh petyārag.
[11] dōstīh wehīh, u-š waranīgīh petyārag.
[12] dil-dardīh wehīh, u-š sturgīh petyārag.

B10 *The text of this section occurs in M51b fol. 252b; cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*,, p. 71; *SupT ŚnŚ* XX 16, cf. West, *SBE*, V, p. 396. A NPers. version is in M52, cf. Bthl., op. cit., p. 83, and cf. note to **B7** for another NPers. version. [1] *abāyēd dādan*: M52b *dahišn* [2] M51b *ke* [3] *hān ī*: M51b om.
B11 [1] K, B om.
B12 [1] B + *pad* [2] DP om. [3] MSS MNW
B14 [1] B nw'dck' [2] MSS *yazdān* [3] B + plstyx [4] B wssndkyx [5] B *wehīh*

B10

This too is manifest: One should not give any thing to evil people, (but) there are times when the best and tastiest food should be given to evil people.

B11

This too is manifest: That man best knows the time and the hour of performing good deeds and of the punishment of sins who knows how to contemplate them with innate wisdom and with acquired wisdom.

B12

This too is manifest: Every one who knows how to contemplate with innate wisdom knows well that which is manifest from the Avesta and Zand, and knows well that which[1] is manifest through acquired wisdom.

B13

This too is manifest: A man who knows how to contemplate with each one of the two wisdoms knows well everything that was and will be.

B14

This too is manifest:[1] Unless one knows what is goodness and what is its adversary, one does not know how to do away with sin.

[1] For generosity is goodness, and squandering is its adversary;
[2] confidence is goodness, and brashness[2] is its adversary;
[3] worship of the gods is goodness, and demon-worship is its adversary;
[4] the Bahrām fire is goodness, and idols are its adversary;
[5] joy[3] of men and kindness[4] to good people is goodness, and disobedience[5] and schism (?)[6] are its adversary;
[6] faith[7] in the spirits is goodness, and idol-worship is its adversary;
[7] diligence is goodness, and discontent and distress[8] are its adversary;
[8] sufficiency is goodness, and excess is its adversary;
[9] thrift[9] is goodness, and avarice is its adversary;
[10] the good religion is goodness, and evil religion is its adversary;
[11] friendship is goodness, and greed is its adversary;
[12] sympathy[10] is goodness, and quarrelsomeness[11] is its adversary;

[13] hu-šarmīh ud hu-škōhīh wehīh, u-š[6] a-wistāxwīh petyārag.
[14] āhrōnīh wehīh, u-š ahlamōgīh petyārag.
[15] sārārīh wehīh,[7] u-š duš-pādexšāyīh petyārag.
[16] hunsandīh wehīh,[8] u-š ašgahānīh petyārag.
[17] mihr ud dil-sōzag ud abaxšāyišn wehīh, u-š[9] šēwan ud mōyag petyārag.[10]
[18] šādānīgīh ud xurramīh[11] [*B435*] wehīh, u-š absōsgarīh petyārag.
[19] pākīzagīh wehīh, u-š[12] tan-cīnagīh petyārag.
[20] dōstīh ī zan ī xwēš wehīh, u-š jeh-marzīh petyārag.
[21] [wuzurg-menišnīh wehīh, u-š abar-tanīh petyārag.][13]
[22] nihādagīh[14] [*K225v*] wehīh, u-š ōbastīh petyārag,
[23] gōwāgīh wehīh, u-š nāzēnagīh petyārag.
[24] dast-kirrōgīh wehīh, u-š abē-sūdgārīh petyārag,
[25] pādexšāyīh ī wehān wehīh, u-š hamahl-xwadāyīh petyārag,
[26] pādefrāh[15] ī wināhgārān wehīh, u-š abārōn-zadārīh petyārag,
[27] dādestānīgīh wehīh, u-š āmār-kašīh[16] ud wad-xwāhīh petyārag.
[28] [ērīh ud dehbadīh wehīh, u-š arg ud bār ī škōhān petyārag.][17]
[29] [frahang kardan ī pad pēšag pēšag wehīh, u-š pādārīh pādefrāh petyārag.][18]
[30] zanišn ī mardom-dušmanān ud wināhgārān kardan wehīh,[19] u-š kēnwarīh ud xešmenīh [*M551*] petyārag,
[31] āzād-mardīh ud meh-mardīh wehīh, u-š sāstārīh petyārag.
[32] xwarišn ud dārišn ī mardomān wehīh, u-š a-paymān-xwarišnīh ud a-paymān-dārišnīh petyārag,

dēnīh [6]B + *pad* [7]K, B om. [8]K, B om. [9]K **'p'p** [10]*mihr ud dil-sōzag. . .petyārag* (the whole of No. 17): B om. [11]K, B **xwlmkyx** [12]B om. [13]cf. B35 [14]B *niyābagīh* [15]*petyārag. pādefrāh*: B **pytpl's** *petyārag* [16]spelled K **'xm'lkšyx**; B, DP **'xm'lkwšyx** [17]cf. **B42** [18]cf. **B43** [19]B om.

[13] bashfulness and dignity[12] are goodness, and lack of confidence[13] is their adversary;
[14] priesthood is goodness, and heresy is its adversary;
[15] leadership is goodness, and evil government is its adversary;
[16] contentment[14] is goodness, and sloth is its adversary;
[17] love,[15] possession of a warm heart and compassion are goodness, and complaint and lamentation are their adversary;
[18] happiness[16] and cheerfulness are goodness, and mockery is their adversary;
[19] cleanliness is goodness, and fastidiousness (?)[17] is its adversary;
[20] love for one's wife is goodness, and intercourse with a whore is its adversary;
[21] high-mindedness is goodness, and arrogance is its adversary;
[22] humility[18] is goodness, and self-abasement[19] is its adversary;
[23] eloquence is goodness, and flattery (?)[20] is its adversary;
[24] skill of hand is goodness, and doing things of no use is its adversary;
[25] the government of good people is goodness, and the lordship of opponents is its adversary;
[26] the punishment of sinners is goodness, and wicked chastisement is its adversary;
[27] lawfulness is goodness, and vengefulness[21] and rancour are its adversary;
[28] nobility and chieftainship are goodness, and the toil and burden of the poor are its adversary;
[29] to mete out discipline as appropriate to each profession is goodness, and the punishment by crucifixion[22] is its adversary;
[30] to cause the enemies of people and evil-doers to be smitten is goodness, and vengeance and irascibility are its adversary;
[31] possessing nobility and greatness of character[23] are goodness, and tyranny is its adversary;
[32] eating and possession by people are goodness, and excessive eating and possession are their adversary.

B15 ud ka ēn [and] ud abārīg ī pōryōtkēšān abar-ez ēn dar gōwišn [kunēd] kardag ud hangāmīg ce'ōn awēšān ēwēn kunēd ud kunišn rāyēnēd, ēwag ēn ku wināh az gēhān be barēd ud didīgar ēn ku-š wehīh abāg be ne šawēd.
ce[1] ēn-ez paydāg ku wanēgarīh az [*K226r*] gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[2] barišn ku rādīh be[3] ne kāhēd.

B16 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku wastārīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku wistāxwīh be ne kāhēd.

B17 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku dēw-īzagīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku yazišn ī yazdān be ne kāhēd.

B18 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku uzdēs[1] az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku ātaxš ī warhrān[2] be ne[3] kāhēd.

B19 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku a-srušt ud wisāndagīh[1] az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[2] barišn ku rāmišn[3] ud niwāxtag[4] ī wehān be ne kāhēd.

B20 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku uzdēs-parastīh[1] az gēhān be [*B436*] barišn[2] be ēdōn barišn ku mēnōg-warrawišnīh be ne kāhēd.

B21 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku a-hunsandīh ud widangīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku tuxšāgīh be ne kāhēd.

B22 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku frēhbūd az gēhān be[1] barišn [*M552*] be ēdōn barišn ku bawandagīh be ne kāhēd.

B23 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku [*K226v*] panīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku fšōnišn be ne kāhēd.

B24 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ag-dēnīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku weh-dēnīh be ne kāhēd.

B25 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku waranīgīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku dōstīh be ne kāhēd.

B15 [1]B *abar* [2]B + *be* [3]K, DP om.
B18 [1]K, B *uzdēsīh* [2]K, DP wlxl'm [3]B om.
B19 [1]MSS (w)sšndkyx [2]K + *be* [3]**B14**, [5] + *ī mardomān* [4]B **nyd'pk'**
B20 [1]B *uzdēsīh-parastagīh* [2]B + *ku*
B22 [1]B + *gēhān*

B15

When you perform these and the other pronouncements of the orthodox on this subject, do them by sections and as fits the time,[1] according to their custom, and regulate your action (as follows:) firstly, that you may drive away sin from the world, and secondly, that goodness should not depart with it.

(*Cf.* **B14**, [1]) For this too is manifest: One ought to drive away squandering from the world, but in such a way that generosity should not diminish.

B16

(*Cf.* **B14**, [2]) This too is manifest: One ought to drive away brashness from the world, but in such a way that confidence should not diminish. [*The following sections, to* **B46**, *all have the same construction as* **B16** *and correspond to the list of opposites in* **B14** *as indicated in the following.*]

B17 (*Cf.* **B14**, [3])

B18 (*Cf.* **B14**, [4])

B19 (*Cf.* **B14**, [5])

B20 (*Cf.* **B14**, [6])

B21 (*Cf.* **B14**, [7])

B22 (*Cf.* **B14**, [8])

B23 (*Cf.* **B14**, [9])

B24 (*Cf.* **B14**, [10])

B25 (*Cf.* **B14**, [11])

B26 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku sturgīh az gēhān be barišn be[1] ēdōn barišn ku ḏil-dardīh be ne kāhēd.

B27 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku sam ud bīm[1] az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku hu-škōhīh ud hu-šarmīh[2] be ne kāhēd.

B28 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ahlamōgīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku āhrōnīh be ne kāhēd.

B29 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku duš-pādexšāyīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku sārārīh be ne kāhēd.

B30 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ašgahānīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku hunsandīh be ne kāhēd.

B31 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku šēwan ud mōyag az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn [*K227r*] ku mihr ud dil-sōzag ud abaxšāyišn[1] ī mardomān[2] be ne kāhēd.

B32 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku absōsgarīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku šādānīgīh[1] ud xurramīh[2] be ne kāhēd.

B33 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku tan-cīnagīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku pākīzagīh be ne [*M553*] kāhēd.

B34 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku jeh-marzīh az gēhān be barišn [*B436*] be ēdōn barišn ku dōstīh[1] ī zan ī xwēš be ne kāhēd.

B35 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abar-tanīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn [ku] wuzurg-menišnīh be ne kāhēd.

B36 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ōbastīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku nihādagīh[1] be ne kāhēd.

B26 [1]K, B om.
B27 [1]*sam ud bīm:* **B14**, [13] *a-wistāxwīh* [2]*hu-škōhīh ud hu-šarmīh:* **B14**, [13] *hu-šarmīh ud hu-škōhīh*
B31 [1]K *abaxšāyīh* [2]**B14**, [17] om.
B32 [1]K, B *šādīgānīh* [2]MSS xwl'myx
B34 [1]B *dōst*
B35 [1]*be ēdōn*: B *ēdōn be*
B36 [1]B nx'ckyx

B26 (*Cf.* **B14**, [12])

B27 (*Cf.* **B14**, [13][1])

B28 (*Cf.* **B14**, [14])

B29 (*Cf.* **B14**, [15])

B30 (*Cf.* **B14**, [16])

B31 (*Cf.* **B14**, [17])

B32 (*Cf.* **B14**, [18])

B33 (*Cf.* **B14**, [19])

B34 (*Cf.* **B14**, [20])

B35 (*Cf.* **B14**, [21], *reconstructed*)

B36 (*Cf.* **B14**, [22])

B37 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku nāzēnagīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn ku gōwāgīh ud rāst-gōwišnīh[2] be ne kāhēd.

B38 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abē-sūdgārīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn ku dast-kirrōgīh be ne kāhēd.

B39 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku hamahl-xwadāyīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn ku pādexšāyīh ī [*K227v*] wehān be ne kāhēd.

B40 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abārōn-zadārīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn ku pādefrāh ī wināhgārān kardan[2] be ne kāhēd.

B41 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku āmār-kašīh ud wad-xwāhīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[1] barišn ku dādestānīgīh be ne kāhēd.

B42 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku arg ud bār az škōhān[1] be barišn be ēdōn[2] barišn ku ērīh ud dehbadīh be ne kāhēd.

B43 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku pādārīh[1] pādefrāh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn[2] barišn ku frahang kardan ī pad pēšag pēšag be ne kāhēd.

B44 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku kēnwarīh[1] az gēhān be barišn be [*M554*] ēdōn[2] barišn ku[3] zanišn ī[4] dušmanān ud wattarān[5] be ne kāhēd.

B45 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku sāstārīh az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku āzād-mardīh ud meh-mardīh be ne kāhēd.

B46 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku a-paymān-xwarišnīh ud a-paymān-dārišnīh[1] az gēhān be barišn be ēdōn barišn ku xwarišn ud dārišn ī mardomān be ne [*K228r*] kāhēd.

B37 [1]*be ēdōn*: B *ēdōn be* (thus in **B37-B41**) [2]B *rāstīh-gōwišnīh;* **B14**, [23] om.
B38 [1]cf. **B37**
B39 [1]cf. **B37**
B40 [1]cf. **B37** [2]B14, [26] om.
B41 [1]cf. **B37**
B42 [1]**B škwdšn'**, DP *gēhān* [2]B + *be*
B43 [1]K om. [2]B + *be*
B44 [1]**B14**, [30] + *ud xēšmenīh* [2]B + *be* [3]K om. [4]**B14**, [30] + *mardom* [5]**B14**, [30] *wināhgārān*
B46 [1]*ud a-paymān-dārišnīh*: K, DP om.

B37 (*Cf.* **B14**, [23][1])

B38 (*Cf.* **B14**, [24])

B39 (*Cf.* **B14**, [25])

B40 (*Cf.* **B14**, [26])

B41 (*Cf.* **B14**, [27])

B42 (*Cf.* **B14**, [28], *reconstructed*[1])

B43 (*Cf.* **B14**, [29], *reconstructed*)

B44 (*Cf.* **B14**, [30])

B45 (*Cf.* **B14**, [31])

B46 (*Cf.* **B14**, [32])

B47 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku ka-z ōh ne[1] hamāg ruwān be dārišn[2] ī tan rāy āwāmīhā andar gēhān, a'ōn pad nigerišn abāyēd raftan ce'ōn ka[3] mard-ē be kafš hēh ud hamāg ēn gēhān mār ud gazdom ud xrafstar ud xār purr hēh u-š a'ōn bīm ku[4] [*B438*] ma-m[5] xrafstar gazēd ayāb xār pad-eš andar šawēd.

B48 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku[1] ō[2] spazgān ud zanān rāz ne barišn ce[3] rāz āškārag bawēd ud ō pašēmānīh rasēd ke ō spazgān ud zanān rāz barēd.[4]

B49 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abāg halag ud xwad-dōšag ud waranīg mard ham-kār ud ham-wāzīg ne bawišn ce bāstān[1] sabukīh ud an-āyuxtagīh[2] rasēd ke abāg halag ud xwad-dōšag ud waranīg mard ham-kār[3] ud ham-wāzīg bawēd.

B50 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abāg[1] sāstār mard ne kōxšišn ce zanišn ud pādefrāh[2] windēd[3] ke abāg sāstār kōxšēd.

B51 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku abāg absōsgar mard spaxr ne kunišn ud ham-xwaran ne bawišn ce *bāstān[1] ō [*K228v*] šarm rasēd ke abāg absōsgar mard spaxr kunēd ayāb ham-xwaran[2] bawēd.

B52 ud ēn-ez paydāg ku az pan ud wad-cihrag ciš ne xwāhišn ce xwēš-tan duš-cihr kunēd ud ō pašēmānīh rasēd ke az pan ud wad-cihr mard ciš [*M555*] xwāhēd.

B53 ēn-ez paydāg ku zan[1] ud rahīg ī xwēš nēwag abāyēd dāštan ud be friyād ne abāyēd hištan, ce bāstān pad xweš-tan ranzag bawēd[2] ud xwarišn mezag kam dānēd ke zan ud rahīg ne[3] nēwag dārēd ayāb a-friyād hilēd.

B47 [1]B *rāy* [2]B *dārišnīh* [3]B om. [4]B + MN [5]B AL MN
B48 [1]K repeats [2]B om. [3–4]B om.
B49 [1]K, DP **bst'n** [2]K **'n'xwxtkyx** [3]B *ham-kārag*
B50 [1]B om. [2]*zanišn ud pādefrāh*: B *pādefrāh zanišn* [3]B W AYT
B51 [1]MSS **bst'n'** [2]B *xwaran*
B53 [1]B om. [2]*ranzag bawēd*: K *ranzag* YXWWN; B *ranz kunišn* [3]B *rāy*

B47

This too is manifest: As the soul is thus not all, but is in the world for a period (?)[1] for maintaining the body, it is necessary to walk with such circumspection as if one were a man without shoes, and the whole of this world were full of snakes, scorpions, noxious reptiles and thorns, and one's fear were: "Let not the reptiles bite me, or the thorns penetrate me".[2]

B48

This too is manifest: One should not tell a secret to gossips and women, for the secret will become public, and the man will come to regret it who tells a secret to gossips and women.

B49

This too is manifest: One should not be an associate or a partner[1] of a foolish, self-loving and greedy man, for contempt and separation always come to the man who is an associate and partner of a foolish, self-loving and greedy man.

B50

This too is manifest: One should not quarrel with a tyrannical man, for he gets chastisement and punishment who quarrels with a tyrant.

B51

This too is manifest:[1] One should not associate with a scoffer by making a banquet with him or by being his drinking companion, for he always comes to shame who makes a banquet with a scoffer or who is his drinking companion.

B52

This too is manifest: One should not request anything from a miser and an ill-natured man, for he makes himself of bad nature and he becomes remorseful, who requests something from a miser and an ill-natured man.

B53

This too is manifest: It is necessary to maintain one's wife and slave[1] well and one ought not to abandon them without rescue[2]; for he is always himself afflicted with pain, and he knows little of the taste of food, who does not maintain his wife and slave well or who abandons them without rescue.

C1 ud ēn-ez[1] ēdōn ku xwāstag-ē[2] az wināh ne kunišn ud ō kadag ne barišn, ce hān-ez ī kard ud pad kadag ēstēd be wišōbēd[3] ke xwāstag-ē az wināh kunēd ud ō kadag barēd.

C2 ud ēn-ez[1] ēdōn ku ciš and gōwišn cand hān ī dānēd, ce ke ciš wēš gōwēd ku hān ī dānēd hān-ez ī dānēd mardomān kam warrawēd.

C3 ēn-ez ēdōn ku xward[1] may[2] ōgārišn ud paygār ne kunišn, ce bāstān xešm ud jang [*K229r*] az-eš bawēd ke xward may[3] ōgārišn ud paygār kunēd.

C4 ēn-ez ēdōn ku absōsgar mard[1] pad nazdīk ne dārišn ud saxwan az-eš ne padīrišn, ce bāstān mardomān pad hān hunar ī-šān nēst gumān kunēd ud dast kāhēd ke absōsgar mard pad nazdīk [*B439*] dārēd u-š saxwan az-eš padīrēd.

C5 ēn-ez ēdōn ku xwēš-tan wēš[1] ne menišn ku-š hān ī wehīh ud hunar, ce bāstān pad xwēš-tan ranzag ud abāg wehān paykabānag[2] ke xwēš-tan[3] wēš menēd ku-š hān ī[4] wehīh ud hunar ast.

C6 ēn-ez ēdōn ku wehīh ī wehān pad xwēš[1] dārišn u-š pad-eš šād bawišn[2] ce bāstān pad duš-cašmīh ud weh-dušmanīh[3] pad-eš gumān bawēnd ke wehīh ī wehān pad xwēš ne dārēd[4] ud pad-eš šād ne bawēd.

C7 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad pādexšāyīh ud [*M556*] tawāngarīh mast ne bawišn, ce-š bāstān weh abar wardēnd u-š wizand ud astānag abēr-tar aweš rasēd [*K229v*] ke andar pādexšāyīh ud tawāngarīh mast bawēd.

C1 [1]K, B + *paydāg* [2]B *xwāstag* [3]B *wišuft*
C2 [1]B + *paydāg*
C3 [1]B *xwarēd* [2]B XYA [3]B XYA
C4 [1]B om.
C5 [1]B + *rāy* [2]Dl' **ptkptk'** [3]B *xwēš*; B om. the following to **C6**, n. 1. [4]K, B om.
C6 [1]B om. from C5, n. 3, to here [2]B *bawēd* [3]B *weh*-**dwšmyx** [4]K, B *dārišn*

C1

This too is thus: One should not gain property by means of sin and carry it home, for even that which is done and which is at home will be destroyed to a man who makes property out of sin and who takes it home.

C2

This too is thus: One should say as much as one knows, for he who says more than he knows gains less faith from people even in matters that he knows.

C3

This too is thus: Having drunk wine, one should not engage in destruction and strife (?), for anger and conflict always issue from a man who, having drunk wine, engages in destruction and strife (?).[1]

C4

This too is thus: One should not keep a scoffer close to oneself and accept words from him, for he always casts doubt on people for a virtue which they lack, and his power[1] is reduced, who keeps a scoffer close to himself and who accepts words from him.

C5

This too is thus: One ought not to consider oneself as (having) more goodness and virtue than one possesses, for that man is himself afflicted with pain, and is cantankerous[1] with good people, who considers himself as (having) more goodness and virtue than he has.

C6

This too is thus: One should regard the good things[1] of the good as one's own and rejoice in them, for people always suspect him of envy and of hostility to the good who does not regard the good things of the good as his own and who does not rejoice in them.

C7

This too is thus: One should not be intoxicated by authority and power, for the good always turn against him, and more harm and misfortune come to him who is intoxicated by authority and power.

C8 ēn-ez ēdōn ku andar xwadāy ud pādexšāy mard a-burd-framān ud wistāxw ne bawišn, ce bāstān ō pazd ud pādefrāh rasēd ke andar xwadāy ud pādexšāy mard a-burd-framān ud wistāxw[1] bawēd.

C9 ēn-ez *ēdōn[1] ku andar[2] riftagīh ud ōrēb wad-zārag ud[3] wanē-xradag (?) ne bawišn, ce hān ī mad ēstēd cārag-ē kam dānēd u-š nōg nōg škeftīh wēš rasēd ke[4] andar riftagīh ud ōrēb wad-zārag ud wanē-xradag (?) bawēd.

C10 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ciš ī ne mad ēstēd rāy bēš ud zarīg ne barišn, ce bāstān andar bēš ud gumānīh zīwēd ke ciš ī ne mad ēstēd rāy bēš ud zarīg bawēd.

C11 ēn-ez ēdōn ku wād[1] wēšīh ne kunišn, ce mardomān pad-eš kam wistāxw bawēnd ud xwad ka [ō] ham-paywandīh rasēd hayyār kam windēd ke wād wēšīh kunēd.

C12 ēn-ez ēdōn ku nihān-xēmīh ne kunišn [*K230r*] ce mardomān pad-eš wistāxw[1] kam bawēnd ud āhōg ī[-š] ast kam šāyēd wirāstan ke nihān-xēmīh kunēd.

C13 ēn-ez ēdōn ku doīh ne kunišn, ce-š andar šahr pad frēftār dārēnd ud xwad dōst kam windēd ke doīh kunēd.

C14 ēn-ez ēdōn ku tundīh ud duš-cašmīh ne kunišn, ce andar šahr pad [*B440*] xešmen dārēnd ud xwad bāstān ēw-tāg ke tundīh ud [*M557*] duš-cašmīh kunēd.

C8 [1]K, B + *ne* (DP?)
C9 [1]K, B *paydāg* [2]B om. [3]B + wnyxlt' [4]B MN [5]B wnyxlt'
C11 [1]B om.
C12 [1]B *wistāxwīh*

C8

This too is thus:[1] One should not be disobedient and confident with regard to a lord and a man of authority, for he always comes to chastisement and punishment who is disobedient and confident with regard to a lord and a man of authority.

C9

This too is thus: One should not have evil sorrow (?)[1] and upset mind (?) in deception (?)[2] and distress (?),[3] for he is less aware of a remedy for that which has come, and more misfortunes come to him ever afresh, who entertains evil sorrow (?) and upset mind (?) in deception (?) and distress (?).

C10

This too is thus:[1] One should not experience pain and grief[2] over a thing which has not come, for he lives constantly in pain and apprehension who experiences pain and grief over a thing which has not come.

C11

This too is thus: One should not act in haughtiness[1] overmuch (?),[2] for people have less confidence in him and he himself, when he comes to turn to the (help of) his kinsmen, gets less assistance, who acts in haughtiness overmuch (?).

C12

This too is thus: One ought not to act in secrecy,[1] for people trust him less and he is less able to correct a fault which he has, who acts in secrecy.

C13

This too is thus: One should not act in duplicity,[1] for in the world he is regarded as a deceiver, and himself he finds few friends, who acts in duplicity.

C14

This too is thus: One should not act in vehemence and jealousy, for he is regarded as irascible[1] in the world, and by himself he is lonely, who acts in vehemence and jealousy.

C15 ēn-ez ēdōn ku xwarišn abē-gāh ud a-paymān ne xwarišn, ce xwarišn mezag kam dānēd ud xwad-ez wīmār bawēd ke xwarišn abē-gāh ud a-paymān xwarēd.

C16 ēn-ez ēdōn ku[1] ranz ī a-paymān ne barišn, ce-š bāstān was wīmārīh rasēd ke ranz ī a-paymān barēd.

C17 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad hān ī bagō-baxt hunsand bawišn, ce bāstān andar a-hunsandīh ud bēš zīwēd ke pad hān ī bagō-baxt ne hunsand.[1]

C18 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ō awe ī wad-xrad ud xwad-dōšag mard[1] āhōg ī-š ast ne[2] gōwišn, {*K230v*} [ce] āhōg be ne wirāyēd ud dušman hangēzēnēd ke ō awe ī wad-xrad ud xwad-dōšag mard āhōg ī-š ast[3] gōwēd.

C19 ēn-ez ēdōn ku dāšn ō ana-spās[1] wattarān ne kunišn, ce-š pad xwāstag[2] ziyān u-š pad ruwān druwandīh ke dāšn ō ana-spāsān wattarān kunēd.

C20 ēn-ez ēdōn ku awe ke ōrēbīh mad ēstēd ne zanišn u-š ne awwēnišn, ce-š bāstān ōrēbīh wēš rasēd u-š ka[1] rasēd hayyār[2] kam windēd ke awe ke ōrēbīh rasēd zanēd ayāb awwēnēd.

C21 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad xwadāyīh ud xwāstag a-paymān waranīg ne bawišn, ce-š nēwagīh ī mad ēstēd mezag kam dānēd ud xwad-ez andar a-hunsandīh ud an-āsānīh zīwēd ke pad xwadāyīh ud xwāstag[1] a-paymān waranīg bawēd.

C22 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ka wizīrēd abāg wattarān ham-kunišn ud ham-barišn[1] ne bawišn, ce ka hān ī wattar[2] ō kunišn rasēd awe-z be dusraw[ēn]ēnd[3] ud

C16 [1]B + *awe-z ī*
C17 [1]B *hunsandīh*
C18 [1]K om. [2–3]*ne gōwišn. . .ast*: B om.
C19 [1]M has by error *spās* [2]K **xw'st'k**
C20 [1]K, B *ke* [2]B *hayyārān*
C21 [1]B + **'t**
C22 [1]K **xmlbšn'** [2]B *wattar-ez* [3]for *dusrawēn-* cf. **303** [4]K **xmlbšn**

C15

This too is thus: One should not eat food out of place and out of measure, for he knows less the food's taste, and himself becomes ill, who eats food out of place and out of measure.

C16

This too is thus: One should not exert oneself out of measure, for much sickness comes to a man who exerts himself out of measure.

C17

This too is thus: One should be content with the decree of the gods, for he constantly lives in discontent and distress who is not content with the decreee of the gods.

C18

This too is thus: One should not tell a foolish and self-loving man the faults which he has, for (that man) does not discipline (these) faults, and he incites an enemy (against himself), who tells a foolish and self-loving man of his faults.

C19

This too is thus: One should not give a present to ungrateful evil people, for he suffers loss of property, and he has wickedness in his soul, who gives presents to ungrateful evil people.

C20

This too is thus: One should not chastise or blame a man whom distress[1] has befallen, for distress always comes to him more, and when it comes he finds fewer people to help him, who chastises or blames a man whom distress has befallen.

C21

This too is thus: One should not be immoderately greedy for authority and wealth, for he knows less the taste of a good thing which has come, and lives himself in discontent and discomfort, who is immoderately greedy for authority and wealth.

C22

This too is thus:[1] When one has the choice, one ought not to be a partner and an associate of evil people, for when the evil person begins to act that

ka awe wizand [*M558; K231r*] rasēd awe ī wattar hayyār ne bawēd [ke] abāg wattarān ham-kunišn ud ham-barišn[4] bawēd.

C23 ēn-ez ēdōn ku xwēš wizāyīh ud škōhīh ud an-attānīh rāy awe[1] ī did kam ne menišn u-š wehīh kam ne wēnišn ku-š hān ī ast, ce bāstān mardomān pad kēnwarīh ud xwad-dōšagīh [*B441*] pad-eš gumān bawēnd[2] ud xwad-ez āhōg ī xwēš[3] kam wēnēd ke[4] xwēš wizāyīh ud škōhīh ud an-attānīh rāy awe ī did kam menēd u-š wehīh kam wēnēd[5] ku-š[6] hān ī ast.

C24 ēn-ez ēdōn ku hu-šnūdīh ī xwēš tawāngarīh ud pādexšāyīh rāy awe[1] ī did wehīh wēš ne wēnišn ku-š hān ī ast, ce bāstān mardom pad āzwarīh ud waranīgīh ud kōdag-nigerišnīh pad-eš gumān bawēnd ke awe ī did hu-šnūdīh ī xwēš tawāngarīh ud pādexšāyīh rāy wehīh wēš wēnēd ku-š hān ī ast.

C25 ēn-ez ēdōn ku wad-āmār ud wad-hangār[1] ne bawišn, ce-š kas ciš az-eš pad-bīm-tar [*K231v*] xwāhēd ud padīrēd ud xwad kam windēd ke wad-āmār ud wad-hangār bawēd.

C26 ēn-ez ēdōn ku zand kār ud dādestān juttar ne gōwišn ud kunišn ud rāyēnišn ce'ōn hān ī pōryōtkēšān [guft ud] kard ud cāšt ud ul āwurd, ce-š ahlamōgīh pad-eš ō gēhān āyēd ke zand kār ud dādestān juttar cāšēd[1] ud gōwēd ud kunēd ce'ōn hān ī pōryōtkēšān guft ud kard ud *cāšt[2] ud ul āwurd.

C27 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ka wizīrēd ērbadestān ī pad abastāg ud zand ud abārīg-ez[1] frahang ī pad pēšag pēšag az wattarān ne gīrišn,[2] ce-š frahang wattar ud xwad ag-ruwān-tar [*M559*] bawēd ke ērbadestān ī pad abastāg ud zand ud abārīg-ez frahang ī pad pēšag pēšag az wattarān gīrēd.[3]

C23 [1]B *ō* [2]B om. [3]B *xwēš-tan* [4-5]*ke xwēš...kam wēnēd*: B om. [6]B *ku*
C24 [1]B *ō*
C25 [1]K **wtg'l** [2]B **AYT'**
C26 [1]K **c'št'** [2]MSS **c'šytn'**
C27 [1]B *abārīg* [2]*kunišn*? [3]*kunēd*?

man too will be defamed, and when harm befalls him the evil person will not come to the help of that man who is a partner and an associate of evil people.

C23

This too is thus: Because of one's harm, poverty and lack of power[1] one should not think less of another person or regard that person's fortune[2] as less than it is, for people will always suspect him of vengefulness and self-love, and he himself sees his own fault less, who thinks less of another person or regards that person's fortune as less than it is because of his own harm, poverty and lack of power.

C24

This too is thus:[1] Because of one's satisfaction with (one's own) wealth and authority one should not regard another person's fortune as more than it is, for people will always suspect that man of being greedy, covetous and mean, who regards the fortune of another person as more than it is because of his own satisfaction with his wealth and authority.

C25

This too is thus: One should not keep bad accounts and bad reckoning, for persons will demand things from him with more terror, and will receive (them), and that man himself will get less, who keeps bad accounts and bad reckoning.

C26

This too is thus:[1] One should not speak, do or arrange the business of Zand differently from what the original orthodox [spoke,] did, taught and brought forth. For heresy comes to the world by one who teaches, speaks or does the business of Zand differently from what the orthodox spoke, did, taught and brought forth.

C27

This too is thus:[1] When one has the choice one should not learn Avesta, Zand, and other instruction (necessary) for each profession, from evil people; for that man's education will be worse, and he himself will possess a more corrupt soul, who learns Avesta, Zand, and other instruction (necessary) for each profession, from evil people.

C28 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ō wattarān ud ahlamōgān zand-abastāg[1] ne cāšišn, ce wināh andar gēhān rawāgīh wēš bawēd ke ō wattarān ud ahlamōgān zand-abastāg cāšēd.

C29 ēn-ez [*K232r*] ēdōn ku xwad[1] uzwān ō drōg ne frahenzišn, ce hān-ez ī rāst gōwēd pad wizurd kam dārēnd ke uzwān ō drōg[2] frahenzēnīd.

C30 ēn-ez ēdōn ku an-ast[1] ud drōg abar[2] kas ne gōwišn, ce pad menišn ī mardomān zad bāstān ō kunišn abēr-tar [*B442*] rasēd u-š xwad-ez an-ast ud drōg wēš[3] abar kunēnd ke abar kasān an-ast ud drōg gōwēd.

C31 ēn-ez ēdōn ku āmār-kašīh ud wad-xwāhīh ne kunišn, ce pas ka pad-ez hān ī rāst dādestān xwāhēd mardom pad-eš gumān ud bāstān wizīr kam windēd ke āmār-kašīh ud wad-xwāhīh kunēd.

C32 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad nēwagīh ī-š ast duš-padēxwīh ne kunišn, ce andar gēhān pad pan dārēnd u-š xwad-ez[1] ka andar abāyēd kam windēd ke pad nēwagīh ī-š ast duš-padēxwīh kunēd.

C33 ēn-ez ēdōn ku zan ud rahīg ī xwēš[1] rāy bāstān pad [*K232v*] āhōg ciš ne gōwišn, ce-š mardom pad duš-āgāh dārēnd u-š zan-ez ud rahīg ī xwēš pad dušman dārēnd ke zan ud rahīg ī xwēš rāy bāstān pad āhōg ciš gōwēd.

C34 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az xwēš-kārīh ud pēšag ī xwēš be ne ēstišn, ce hān [*M560*] frahang ī ast wanē kunēd u-š mardom pad wad-hunarīh pad-eš gumān bawēnd ke az xwēš-kārīh ud pēšag ī xwēš be ēstēd.[1]

C28 [1] K, DP *zand ud abastāg* (but in the last phrase of this section: *zand-abastāg*)
C29 [1] B om. [2] B om.
C30 [1] B 'n'stk' [2] B + *ō* [3] B wyšl
C32 [1] B *xwad*
C33 [1] *ēn-ez ēdōn. . .xwēš*: the text is missing in K
C34 [1] B *ēstišn*

C28

This too is thus: One should not teach Avesta with Zand to evil and heretical people, for sin becomes more current in the world (by him) who teaches Avesta with Zand to evil and heretical people.

C29

This too is thus: One should not train (?)[1] one's tongue to lie, for even that which that man speaks in truth is considered less reliable,[2] whose tongue is trained to lie.

C30

This too is thus: One should not tell untrue and false things of any person, for in the thought of people[1] strife[2] comes most frequently to action, and he himself becomes more the object of untrue and false talk, who tells untrue and false things of (other) people.

C31

This too is thus: One should not entertain vengefulness[1] and rancour, for later, even when he desires a just judgment, people suspect that man, and he always obtains less (favourable) decision, who entertains vengefulness and rancour.

C32

This too is thus: One should not lead a miserable life with the wealth that one possesses, for people in the world regard that man as stingy, and he himself obtains less when he is in need, who leads a miserable life with the wealth that he possesses.

C33

This too is thus:[1] One should not tell one's wife and slave continuously of their fault, for people regard him as foolish, and his wife and slave hold him as their enemy, who tells his wife and slave continuously of their faults.

C34

This too is thus: One should not step aside from one's own function and calling, for he destroys the education which he has, and people suspect him of bad manners, who steps aside from his own function and calling.

C35 ēn-ez ēdōn ku kas rāy absōs ciš ne gōwišn u-š pas-gōwišnīh ne kunišn, cē-š[1] pad mardom-dušmanīh[2] pad-eš gumān bawēnd ud xwad-ez dušman ō xwēš-tan xwāhēd ke abar kas absōs kunēd ayāb-eš pad pas-gōwišnīh ciš gōwēd.

C36 ēn-ez ēdōn ku hān ī hamēmār hamēmār[1] menišn u-š abāg wastār ne bawišn, ce xwāhišn ī xwēš kam wēnēd ud xwad-ez pad dādestān weš ēraxtēd ke hamēmār [hamēmār] ne[2] menēd[3] ayāb-eš abāg wastār bawēd.

C37 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pēš ī[1] awe ī az-eš meh ud dānāg-tar bāstān saxwan was ne gōwišn, ce awe ī pēš-gāh ud abārīg mardomān kam abāyēd ud xwad-ez [*B443*] hān ī gōwēd kār az-eš kam kunēnd ke bāstān pēš ī awe ī meh ud dānāg-tar saxwan was gōwēd.

C38 ēn-ez ēdōn ku zan ud rahīg ī xwēš dōst bawišn be a-paymān waranīg pad-eš ne bawišn, ce ō wehīh ud hunar kam frahenzēd ke[1] ō zan ud rahīg[2] ī xwēš ne dōst ayāb a-paymān waranīg pad-eš bawēd.

C39 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad zan ī kārān waranīg ne bawišn, ce dōšārm ī zan ī xwēš[1] be kāhēd ud xwad-ez ō jeh-marzīh wardēd ke pad zan ī kārān waranīg bawēd.

C40 ēn-ez ēdōn ku pad nēwagīh ciš ī xwāhēd a-paymān waranīg ne bawišn, ce pas ka[1] hān ī xwāhēd ne [*M561*] windēd ēg-eš bēš wēš bawēd ke pad nēwagīh ciš ī xwāhēd a-paymān waranīg bawēd.

C41 ēn-ez ēdōn ku xwēš-tan ēdōn dārišn[1] ku hān ī[2] [*K233v*] mardomān nēwag-tar pad dēm (?)[3] bawēd ne ēdōn ku-š hān ī xwad weh sahēd, ce bāstān andar šahr pad abar-tan dārēnd ud mardomān abēr-tar be bēzēd (?)[4] ke xwēš-tan ne ēdōn dārēd ku hān ī mardomān nēwag-tar sahēd ce ēdōn dārēd ku hān ī xwad weh sahēd.

C35 [1]B *ce* [2]B *mardomān dušmanīh*

C36 [1]B, DP om. [2]K, B *rāy* [3]The text is missing in K from here to **C37**, n.1.

C37 [1]cf. **C36**, n. 3

C38 [1]B repeats [2]B lsykyx

C39 [1]K om.

C40 [1]B om.

C41 [1]B *dārēd* [2]The text is missing in K from the beginning of **C41** to this point. [3]B d'm (K might also read ***YDH** =*dast*) [4]DP bšt

C35

This too is thus: One should not speak scoffingly or backbitingly (?) of any person, for that man is suspected of misanthropy, and he himself seeks an enemy against himself, who speaks scoffingly or backbitingly (?) against any person.

C36

This too is thus: One should consider an adversary as an adversary and not be careless with him. For that man sees his own desire less, and he is himself convicted more by law, who does not consider an adversary as an adversary or who is careless with him.

C37

This too is thus: One ought not constantly to speak much in front of a person who is greater and wiser than oneself; for that man is less wanted by men of distinction[1] and other people,[2] and as to himself, fewer of the things he says are put into practice, who constantly speaks much in front of a person who is greater and wiser than himself.

C38

This too is thus: One should love one's wife and slaves,[1] but not be excessively passionate with them; for he educates them less towards goodness and virtue who does not love his wife and slaves, or who is excessively passionate with them.

C39

This too is thus:[1] One should not be desirous of the wives of other people; for his love for his own wife diminishes, and he himself turns to intercourse with prostitutes, who is desirous of the wives of other people.

C40

This too is thus: One should not be excessively greedy for a valuable thing that one desires; for later, when he does not obtain that which he desires, his grief is stronger, who is excessively greedy for a valuable thing that he desires.

C41

This too is thus: One should maintain oneself in such a manner as seems (?)[1] better to people, not in such a manner as seems better to oneself; for that

C42 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ciš ciš ō wattarān pad cār ne dahišn,[1] ce pad xwāstag ziyān ud pad ruwān druwandīh ke ciš ō wattarān pad cār dahēd.

C43 ēn-ez ēdōn ku saxwan abē-gāh ud a-paymān ne gōwišn, ce mardomān kam abāyēd ud hān ī gōwēd kam padīrēnd u-šān xwār-tar pad dēm (?)[1] bawēd ke saxwan abē-gāh ud a-paymān gōwēd.

C44 ēn-ez ēdōn ku rāz ō was kas ne barišn, ce rāz āškārag bawēd ud was kas pad rāz abāyēd dāštan u-š az was kas bīm ke rāz ō was kas[1] gōwēd.

C45 ēn-ez ēdōn ku andar yazdān ud[1] mardomān [*B444*] ana-spās ne bawišn, ce nēwagīh ī ast az-eš[2] [*K224r*] be šawēd ud hān ī nēst aweš ne rasēd ke andar yazdān ud mardomān ana-spās bawēd.

C46 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az [bēš ud] āzār ud ōrēb (?) ī mad ēstēd was kas āgāh ne kunišn, ce mardomān pad-eš wēš andar ayārand ud dušman pad-eš ayārand-tar bawēd[1] ke az[2] bēš ud āzār ud ōrēb (?) ī mad ēstēd was kas [*M562*] āgāh kunēd.

C47 ēn-ez ēdōn ku mihr-druzīh ne kunišn, ce wanē-būdīh[1] az-eš bawēd ke mihr-druzīh andar.

C42 [1] B *dahēd*
C43 [1] B d'm (cf. C41, n. 3)
C44 [1] K, B om.
C45 [1–2] The text is missing in K
C46 [1] K, B om. [2] K, B om.
C47 [1] spelled AWBDbwtyx

man is always held in the world as haughty, and he inflicts pain (?)[2] on people, who does not maintain himself in such a manner as seems better to people, (but) maintains (himself) as seems best to himself

C42

This too is thus: One should not give anything to evil people if it can be avoided; for there is damage to the property, and a state of wickedness to the soul, of the man who gives anything to evil people if it can be avoided.

C43

This too is thus: One should not speak out of place and excessively; for he is less wanted by people, and they accept what he says less, and it seems to them less worthy, who speaks out of place excessively.

C44

This too is thus: One should not tell a secret to many people; for the secret becomes public, and it is necessary that many people should keep it secret, and that man has fear from many people, who tells a secret to many people.

C45

This too is thus: One should not be ungrateful to gods and men; for the good things which are in the possession of that man abandon him, and those that he does not possess do not reach him, who is ungrateful to gods and man.

C46

This too is thus: One should not inform many people of [grief,] affliction and distress that have befallen one; for people come to hold that man much in abhorrence,[1] and his enemies are more abhorrent of him, who informs many people of grief, affliction and distress that have befallen him.

C47

This too is thus: One should not break an oath, for destruction ensues from a person in whom the breaking of oaths is found.

C48 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ēn and ciš ī abārīg wehīh wahānag (ciš) az[1] and ciš bawēd, az xēm ud xrad ud hōg ud frahang rōyagīh.

C49 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az frahang ī nēwag xrad ī nēwag bawēd, ud az xrad ī nēwag hōg ī nēwag bawēd, ud az hōg ī nēwag xēm ī nēwag [bawēd], ud az xēm ī nēwag[1] kunišn ī frārōn bawēd, ud pad kunišn ī frārōn druz az gēhān be kard bawēd.

C50 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az frahang ī wad xrad ī wad[1] ud az xrad ī wad hōg ī wad[2] ud az hōg ī wad[3] xēm ī wad ud az *xēm[4] ī wad kunišn ī abārōn bawēd[5] [*K234v*] ud kunišn ī abārōn rāy[6] druz andar gēhān wēš.

C51 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az spāsdārīh xwarrōmandīh ud az xwarrōmandīh wahman-dārīh bawēd, ud az wahman-dārīh āštīh ud az āštīh wistāxwīh ud az wistāxwīh dōstīh ud az dōstīh mihr ud az mihr andar gēhān dārišn[1] ud parwarišn ī mardomān paywandihēd.

C52 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az ana-spāsīh[1] xwarr ī xwēš kāhēd ud [az] xwarr ī xwēš kāstan dušmanīh ud az dušmanīh an-āštīh ud az an-āštīh a-wistāxwīh ud az a-wistāxwīh dušmanādīh ud az dušmanādīh dardīh[2] ud mihr-druzīh bawēd ud pad dardīh ud mihr-druzīh ēwag az did be wisānēnd mardom.

C53 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az bawandag-menišnīh yazdān-šnāsīh bawēd, ud az yazdān-šnāsīh [*B445*] mēnōg-warrawišnīh bawēd, ud az mēnōg-warrawišnīh ruwān-dōstīh[1] bawēd,[2] [*M563*] ud az ruwān-dōstīh hu-āmārīh bawēd, ud az hu-āmārīh kirbag kardan bawēd, ud az kirbag kardan ruwān bōzihēd.

C48 [1]*ciš az*: perhaps emend slightly to read *az *ēn*
C49 [1]*ud az xēm ī nēwag*: K om.
C50 [1]*xrad ī wad*: B om. [2–5]The text is missing in K [3]*ud az hōg ī wad*: B om. [4]MSS *hōg* [5]cf. n. 2 [6]B om.
C51 [1]B *dārišnīh*
C52 [1]K 'nst'syx [2]B om.
C53 [1]B *ruwān pad-eš dōstīh* [2]B om.

C48

This too is thus: These several things which are the cause[1] of other good things are the outcome of the (following) several things: they are the outgrowth[2] of character, wisdom, habit and education.[3]

C49

This too is thus: From good education there comes about good wisdom, from good wisdom there comes about good habit, from good habit there comes about good character, from good character there comes about righteous action, and through righteous action the demons are expelled from the world.

C50

This too is thus: From bad education there comes about bad wisdom, from bad wisdom there comes about bad habit, from bad habit there comes about bad character, from bad character there comes about wicked action, and owing to wicked action there are more demons in the world.

C51

This too is thus:[1] From gratitude there comes about possession of fortune, from possession of fortune there comes about kindliness,[2] from kindliness peace, from peace confidence, from confidence friendship, from friendship love, and from love the maintenance and the nourishment of people in the world are joined together.

C52

This too is thus:[1] From ingratitude one's fortune diminishes, from the diminishing of one's fortune there comes about hostility, from hostility disorder, from disorder lack of confidence, from lack of confidence enmity,[2] from enmity there comes about (the infliction of) pain and the breaking of oath, and through (the infliction of) pain and the breaking of oath people become separated from each other.

C53

This too is thus: From humility there comes about knowledge of the gods; from knowledge of the gods there comes about faith in the spiritual world; from faith in the spiritual world there comes about love of the soul; from love of the soul there comes about being of good disposition (?);[1] from be-

C54 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az tar-menišnīh yazdān-ana-šnāsīh bawēd, ud az[1] [*K235r*] yazdān-ana-šnāsīh a-mēnōg-warrawišnīh, ud az mēnōg-a-warrawišnīh[2] a-ruwānīh, ud az a-ruwānīh an-āmārīh, ud az an-āmārīh bazag ud wināh kardan, ud az bazag ud wināh kardan rāy mardom druwand bawēnd.

C55 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az tuxšāgīh hunarōmandīh, ud az hunarōmandīh wehīh-dōstīh, ud [az wehīh-dōstīh] pēšag ī xwēš šnāxtan, ud az pēšag ī xwēš šnāxtan xwēš-kārīh ī xwēš kardan, ud az [xwēš-kārīh ī] xwēš kardan ābādānīh, ud az ābādānīh rāy mard zan ud rahīg dāštan ud burzišn ī pādexšāyīh wēš bawēd.

C56 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az ašgahānīh a-hunarīh,ud az a-hunarīh weh-dušmanīh, ud az weh-dušmanīh a-xwēš-kārīh, ud az a-xwēš-kārīh škōhīh, ud az škōhīh duš-burdīh ud an-attānīh ī xwēš-tan ud zan ud rahīg bawēd.

C57 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az xwēš-tan *hugar[1] abzāyišn kār dāštan bagōbaxt ī xwēš šnāxtan, ud az bagōbaxt ī xwēš šnāxtan hunsandīh, ud [az hunsandīh][2] xwārīh ud āwāmīh, ud[3] xwārīh ud āwāmīh rāy burzišnōmandīh bawēd, ud az burzišnōmandīh[4] [*K235v*] rāy mard andar[5] šahr[6] pad pādexšāyīh dārēnd u-š [wēš][7] menēnd.

C54 [1] Missing in K from the beginning of **C54** to this point [2] DP *a-mēnōg-wārrawišnīh*

C57 [1] spelled **BYN** [2] for this addition, cf. the parallel section **C60** [3–4] Missing in K [5] K, B + t [6] B repeats [7] cf. the parallel section **C60**: *kam menēnd*

ing of good disposition (?) there comes about the doing of good deeds; from doing good deeds the soul is justified.

C54

This too is thus: From arrogance there comes about lack of knowledge of the gods; from lack of knowledge of the gods, lack of faith in the spiritual world; from lack of faith in the spiritual world, lack of possession of soul; from lack of possession of soul, lack of good disposition; from lack of good disposition there comes about the committing of sins and offences; because of[1] committing sins and offences people come to be wicked.

C55

This too is thus: From diligence there comes about skilfulness, from skilfulness there comes about love of goodness; [from love of goodness] there comes about knowledge of one's calling; from knowledge of one's calling there comes about doing one's duty; from doing one's duty there comes about prosperity; owing to prosperity there is increase of a man's maintaining his wife and slaves and respecting government.

C56

This too is thus: From sloth there comes about lack of skill; from lack of skill there comes about hostility to goodness; from hositility to goodness there comes about not doing one's duty; from not doing one's duty there comes about poverty; from poverty there comes about misery[1] and wretchedness for oneself and one's wife and slaves.

C57

This too is thus: From maintaining the increase of beneficence as one's own action there comes about knowledge of one's destiny; from knowledge of one's destiny there comes about contentment; [from contentment] there comes about ease of life and enjoyment (?)[1]; owing to ease of life and enjoyment (?) there comes about respectfulness; owing to respectfulness people regard him in the world as having authority and think more highly of him.

C58 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az a-paymānīh *wanēgarīh,[1] ud az *wanēgarīh a-bawandagīh, ud az a-bawandagīh margīh bawēd.

C59 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az paymānīgīh[1] fšōnišn, ud az fšōnišn [ciš ī xwēš nigāh dāštan], ud az ciš ī xwēš nigāh dāštan bawandagīh, ud az bawandagīh rādīh, ud az rādīh frāxwīh, [*M564*] ud az frāxwīh zīndagīh bawēd.

C60 ēn-ez ēdōn [*B446*] ku az bagōbaxt ī xwēš ne šnāxtan ana-hunsandīh, ud az ana-hunsandīh an-āsānīh[1] ud an-āwāmīh, ud az an-āsānīh ud an-āwāmīh a-burzišnīgīh[2] bawēd, ud a-burzišnīgīh[3] rāy[4] mardom[5] andar gēhān kam menēnd.

C61 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az hunar[1] ud wehīh ī xwēš pad paymān menīdan bawandag-menīdan ī wehān bawēd, ud az bawandag-menīdan ī wehān was dōst xwāstan, ud az was dōst xwāstan gund ud hayyār ī was bawēd,[2] ud gund ud hayyār ī was rāy mardom pad-rāmišn-tar[3] ud abē-bīm-tar zīwēnd.

C62 ēn-ez ēdōn ku hunar[1] [*K236r*] ud wehīh ī xwēš az paymān wēš menīdan rāy[2] tar-menišnīh ī andar wehān, ud az tar-menišnīh ī andar wehān dušman ī was kardan bawēd, ud was dušmanīh rāy[3] mard andar-bīm-tar ud a-rāmišn-tar zīwēd.

C63 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az wiyāxanīh hangāmīg-saxwanīh, ud az hangāmīg-saxwanīh pad-xrad gōwišnīh, ud az [pad-]xrad gōwišnīh[1] pad-gāh gōwišnīh bawēd, ud az saxwan ī pad gāh ud hangām guftan mard xwarr[2] ī xwēš abzāyēd.

C58 [1] spelled in both cases here **bwnykklyx**

C59 [1] B *paymānīg*

C60 [1] B repeats [2] K *a-burzišnīh*; B *burzišnīgīh* [3] B *burzišnīgīh* [4] K *ne* [5] K repeats

C61 [1] B **ŠPYLxwnl** [2] B *bawišn* [3] *rāmišn-tar*: from here to **C62**, n. 1, the text of K is missing.

C62 [1] cf. **C61**, n. 3 [2] B *ne* [3] B + *andar*

C63 [1] *ud az [pad-] xrad gōwišnīh*: DP om. [2] or *dast*? K punctuates **GDH**

C58

This too is thus: From not keeping the measure there comes about squandering; from squandering there comes about dissatisfaction; from dissatisfaction there comes about death.

C59

This too is thus: From keeping the measure there comes about thrift; from thrift there comes about preserving one's possessions; from preserving one's possessions there comes about satisfaction; from satisfaction there comes about generosity; from generosity, abundance; and from abundance there comes about life.

C60

This too is thus: From not knowing one's destiny there comes about discontent; from discontent, lack of ease of life and enjoyment(?); from lack of ease of life and enjoyment(?), lack of respect; and because of lack of respect people in the world think less highly of him.

C61

This too is thus: From considering one's virtue and goodness in the (proper) measure there comes about reverence for good people; from reverence for good people, the seeking of many friends; from seeking many friends there comes about (having) numerous troops[1] and assistants; because of numerous troops and assistants people live more peacefully and more securely.

C62

This too is thus: Because of considering one's virtue and goodness more than the (proper) measure there comes about contempt of good people; from contempt of good people there comes about the making of many enemies; as a result of having many enemies a man lives more in fear and less in peace.

C63

This too is thus: From eloquence there comes about timely discourse; from timely discourse, wise talk; from wise talk there comes about talk at the (appropriate) place; from uttering discourse at the (appropriate) place and time a man increases his fortune.

C64 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az tundīh halagīh, ud az halagīh[1] a-kerdār-gōwišnīh, ud az a-kerdār-gōwišnīh abē-gāh gōwišnīh bawēd, ud abē-gāh gōwišnīh rāy mard xwarr[2] ī xwēš kāhēd.

C65 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az[1] an-āzīh[2] pākīzagīh, ud az pākīzagīh padīreftagīh, ud az padīreftagīh dil-dardīh, ud dil-dardīh rāy mard wistāxw-tar bawēd ud kirbag weh ayārēd kardan.

C66 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az āzwarīh [*M565*] rīmanīh, ud az rīmanīh[1] škeftīh ud wad-dilīh bawēd, ud škeftīh ud wad-dilīh rāy[2] mard[3] andar gēhān kam menēnd.

C67 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az frārōn[1] [*K236v*] tuxšāgīh frārōn kunišnīh bawēd, ud az [*B447*] frārōn kunišnīh mard xwāstag dēr-tar pattāyistan xwār-tar dāštan.

C68 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az abārōn tuxšāgīh abārōn kunišnīh bawēd,[1] ud az abārōn kunišnīh rāy mard xwāstag ī xwēš be wišōbēd.

C69 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az rāstīh ud rāst-gōwišnīh ī pad xrad xwarrōmandīh abzāyēd ud abzāyīdan ī mardomān pad-eš bawēd, ud az xwarrōmandīh ud abzāyīdan ī mardomān ī pad-eš mard ō burzišn ud pādexšāyīh ud kār ī šahr rasēd.

C70 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az drōzanīh zad-brehīh ud ne abzāyīdan[1] ī mardomān, ud ne *abzāyīdan[2] ī mardomān rāy mard nēwagīh ī ast ābār bawēd.

C71 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az waranīgīh ne kardan nihād-snehīh ud jang be nihādan, ud az nihād-snehīh ud jang be nihādan [ēr-menišnīh], ud ēr-menišnīh rāy mard wehīh ī xwēš pad paymān ud awe ī did wēš menēd.

C64 [1]*ud az halagīh*: K om. [2]punctuated **GDH**

C65 [1]B **MNW** [2]B 'cyx; K spells '-w'cyx, the aleph being written separately and having the form of a privative *a-*.

C66 [1]*ud az rīmanīh*: K om. [2]Missing in K from here to **C67**, n. 1. [3]B + *andar mard*

C67 [1]cf. **C66**, n. 2.

C68 [1]B om.

C70 [1]K 'p'dyt' [2]MSS 'p'dyt'

C71 [1]*mard snēhōmand. . .az snēhōmandīh*: bottom line of page cut off in K.

C64

This too is thus: From impetuosity there comes about inanity; from inanity, ineffective talk; from ineffective talk there comes about talk out of place; because of talk out of place a man reduces his fortune.

C65

This too is thus: From lack of greed,[1] purity; from purity, being accepted;[2] from being accepted there comes about sympathy, and because of sympathy a man becomes more confident and is better able to perform good deeds.

C66

This too is thus: From greediness there comes about impurity; from impurity, misfortune and lack of sympathy; because of misfortune and lack of sympathy a man is considered (to be) less in the world.

C67

This too is thus. From righteous effort there comes about righteous action, and from righteous action it is easier for a man to maintain his property so that it should last longer.

C68

This too is thus: From sinful effort there comes about sinful action, and because of sinful action a man destroys his property.

C69

This too is thus: From truthfulness and wisely spoken truth there comes about increase in the possession of fortune, and the thriving of people that ensues therefrom; from the possession of fortune and the thriving of people that ensues therefrom a man reaches honour, authority and (the management of) the affairs of the world.

C70

This too is thus: From lying there comes about bad fortune and the non-growth of people. Because of the non-growth of people the good things that a person has become removed (from him).

C71

This too is thus: From not acting in greed there comes about laying down the arms and refraining from war; from laying down the arms and refrain-

C72 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az waranīgīh mard snehōmand ud duš-framān bawēd, ud az snehōmandīh[1] [*K237r*] ud duš-framānīh an-ēr-menišnīh, ud az an-ēr-menišnīh xwēš-tan wēš ud awe ī did kam menīdan bawēd.

C73 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ke xwēš-tan pad dādwarīh ud dādestān dārēd ēg sūd ī xwēš rāy awe ī did ziyān ud hān-ez ī-š[1] pad dād ne nēwag[2] sahēd pad kasān ne kunēd.

C74 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ke[1] xwēš-tan pad [*M566*] dādwarīh ud dādestān ne dārēd ēg ka-š xwad ne sūd ud pad awe ī did ziyān ēg-ez-eš rāmišn.

C75 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az šnāsīh ī dēn mānθr-ōšmarišnīh bawēd, ud az mānθr-ōšmarišnīh pēšag ī dēn ud yazišn ī yazdān abzūdan bawēd,[1] ud az pēšag ī dēn ud yazišn ī yazdān abzūdan druz be kardan ī az gēhān, ud az druz be kardan ī az gēhān anōšagīh ud fraškerd ud rist-āxēz bawēd.

C76 ēn-ez ēdōn ku az ana-šnāsīh ī dēn [*B448*] mardom be ō dēw-īzagīh ud uzdēs-parastīh wardēnd, ud dēw-īzagīh ud uzdēs-parastīh rāy[1] druz andar gēhān, [ud az druz andar gēhān] margīh ud anāgīh bawēd.

C77 ēn-ez[1] ēdōn ku [*K237v*] ke xwēš-tan ō yazdān ud wehān dahēd ēg-eš hān and wehīh pad tan mehmān u-š āhōg ud wattarīh pad jastag pēšar bawēd.

C73 [1] B, DP + *xwēš-tan* [2] B, (DP?) om.
C74 [1] K + *pad*
C75 [1] K *būd*
C76 [1] the text in K is cut off from here to **C77**, n. 1.
C77 [1] cf. **C76**, n. 1.

ing from war [there comes about humility]; because of humility a man considers his own goodness with measure and considers that of another man as more.

C72

This too is thus: From greediness a man becomes armed and disobedient; from being armed and disobedient there comes about lack of humility; from lack of humility there comes about considering oneself as more, and another person as less (than he is).

C73

This too is thus: A man who maintains himself in observance of law and justice does not cause, for his own benefit, harm to another person, and does not do to other people that which does not seem to him legally good.

C74

This too is thus: A man who does not maintain himself in observance of law and justice has joy even when he does not benefit but another person is harmed.

C75

This too is thus:[1] From knowledge of the religion there comes about consideration of the sacred word; from consideration of the sacred word there comes about increase of (one's) calling in religion and worship of the gods; from increase of the calling in religion and of the worship of the gods, the elimination of the demons from the world; from the elimination of the demons from the world there comes about immortality, the Renovation and the Resurrection.

C76

This too is thus: From lack of knowledge of the religion people turn to demon-worship and idolatry; because of demon-worship and idolatry the demons are in the world, [and because of the fact that the demons are in the world] there comes about death and calamity.

C77

This too is thus: A man who surrenders himself to the gods and good people, this much goodness inhabits his body and he is guilty of fault and evil (only) by accident.[1]

C78 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ke xwēš-tan ō dēwān ud wattarān dahēd ēg-eš ēn and āhōg pad xwēš-tan mehmān u-š wehīh pad jastag.

C79 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ēn and wehīh ud āhōg pad ēd tan ud ēd āwām ne be pad harw tan ud harw āwām bawēd.

C80 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ciš ast ud ciš nēst. ciš ī ast hān ke ruwān pad-eš[1] bōzihēd, ud ciš ī nēst hān ke ruwān pad-eš druwand kunihēd.

C81 ēn-ez ēdōn ku ruwān zīndagīh az xēm, ud xrad zīndagīh az burdīh, ud xwarr zīndagīh az rāstīh, ud harw 3 dogān šnāsīh pad[1] ērbadestān nām[2] ēr-menišnīh.

C82 ēn-ez ēdōn[1] ku [ka] myazd ud gāhānbār ud jahišn-hayyārīh ī ō wehān be kāhēd duš-pādexšāyīh [*M567*] ī mardomān ud dardīh ī jōrdāyān ud duš-warzīh ud kam-barīh ī[2] [*K238r*] zamīg ud duš-wārānīh be abzāyēd. ud ka kirbag ī xwēdōdah be kāhēd tārīkīh be abzāyēd ud rōšnīh be kāhēd. ud ka yazišn ī yazdān[3] ud panāhīh ud jādag-gōwīh ī ō wehān be kāhēd duš-pādexšāyīh ī pādexšāyān[4] ud a-dādestān-kunišnīh be abzāyēd ud wattarān abar wehān abarwēz bawēnd.

C83a ēn-ez paydāg ku ēdōn ce'ōn zamīg kadag ī āb, ud āb pērāyag ī warz, ud warz abzāyišn ī gēhān, ud az-eš be bar dāštārīh ī kišwar, ēdōn-ez dānāgīh xānag ī wehīh, ud wehīh tan ī xrad, ud xrad abzāyēnīdār ī gēhān.

C80 [1] B om.
C81 [1] spelled **pt'** [2] or read *ud ham*?
C82 [1] K *paydāg* [2] *mardomān ud. . .kam-barīh ī*: this line has been cut out of K. [3] B + **PWN** g's (a dittography on *panāhīh*?) [4] B *pādexšāy*

C78

This too is thus: A man who surrenders himself to the demons and evil people this much fault inhabits his body and his goodness is (merely) accidental.

C79

This too is thus: This much goodnesss and fault are not (only) in this (particular) person and this (particular) time, but in each person and in all time.[1]

C80

This too is thus:[1] Some things are and some things are not. A thing that exists is that by which the soul is saved. A thing that does not exist is that by which the soul becomes wicked.[2]

C81

This too is thus: The life of the soul is from character, the life of wisdom is from patience, the life of fortune is from truthfulness, and the name (used) in the school for the knowledge of all three pairs is "humility."[1]

C82

This too is thus: When *myazd, gāhānbār*[1] and acts of charity[2] to good people diminish, there is increase of evil government for men, pain for corn plants, bad husbandry, diminution of the fertility of the land and bad rains. When the virtue of consanguine marriage diminishes, darkness increases and light diminishes. When worship of the gods and the protection and advocacy of good people diminish, the evil government of rulers and unlawful action increase, and evil people gain the upper hand over the good.

C83a

This too is manifest:[1] in the same way as the earth is the abode of water, and water is the ornament of husbandry, and husbandry is the furtherance of the world, and the fruit which derives from it is the maintenance of the climes – so is knowledge the home of goodness,[2] and goodness the body of wisdom, and wisdom the furtherer of the world.

C83b gētīg pad ēn 6 ciš rāyēnihēd, pad zamān ud dahišn [*B449*] ud dānišn ud hayyār ud abzār ud tuxšāgīh. ud dānāg wizīrēnīd ku az ēn 6 3 mēnōgīg ud 3 gētīgīg. zamān ud dahišn ud dānišn mēnōgīg, ud hayyār ud abzār ud tuxšāgīh gētīgīg.

C83c ēn-ez 4 āhōg andar mardom dušmanīh būd[an] guft ēstēd, gilag[1] ud absōs ud awwēnišn ud panīh.

C83d [*K238v*] ahlamōg 3 ēwēnag[1] frēftār ud frēftag ud xwad-dōšag. xwad-dōšag[2] hān bawēd *ke[3] gōwēd ku sēn weh bawēd[4] az ādurbād,[5] ud xwad-dōšagīhā hān sēn gīrēd. ud frēftag hān bawēd ce'ōn hāwištān ī sēn. ud frēftār ce'ōn xwad sēn ke ciš az hān ī ce'ōn pōryōtkēšān[6] ī pēšēnīgān cāšīd pad nigerišn be wardēnēd.

C83e ke[1] ciš 6 hēc ēwag andar nēst hān ī abāyišnīg-tar ī az nēmag ī yazdān andar nēst: šarm ud škōy [*M568*] ud bīm ud mihr ud spās ud ēmēd. šarm az yazdān, ud škōy az mardomān, ud bīm az dušaxw, ud mihr abāg ruwān ī xwēš, ud spās andar yazdān ud mardomān, ud ēmēd ō tan ī pasēn.

D1a* ud gōwēnd ku hu-fraward ādurbād ī mahraspandān xīr ī gētīg pad 25 dar [nihād][1] būd, 5 pad breh ud 5 pad kunišn ud 5 pad hōg ud 5 pad gōhr ud 5 pad abarmānd.
zīndagīh ud zan ud frazand ud xwadāyīh ud xwāstag abēr-tar pad breh;
ahlawīh ud druwandīh ud āhrōnīh ud ardēštārīh ud wāstryōšīh abēr-tar pad [*K239r*] kunišn;
xwardan ud raftan ud ō zanān šudan ud būšāsp kardan ud kār wizārdan abēr-tar pad hōg;
xēm ud mihr ud wehīh ud rādīh ud rāstīh abēr-tar pad gōhr;
huš ud wīr ud tan ud brāh ud dīdan abēr-tar pad abarmānd.

C83c [1] spelled **klk'**
C83d [1] B om. [2] K om. [3] B om.; K AMT [4] B om. [5] B **'twryk't'** [6] K **pwlywkyš'n**
C83e [1] B om.
D1a *The text occurs also in *PhlT* 82.9-16, and is partly quoted in *Dd* LXX. Arabic versions are found in Misk., *JX*, 67.4-12; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, III, 673. A NPers. version is found in Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, Tehran 1351, 224 f.; cf. also *Tārīx-i guzīda* 73.11-17; Salemann-Zhukovsky, *Persische Grammatik*, 41*. A versified version in NPers. is in M55 fol. 147v. 17ff. [1] cf. *PhlT* 82.10.

C83b

The material world[1] is governed by these six things: Time, instruction (?)[2], knowlege, help, power and effort. The wise have decreed that of these six, three are of the spiritual and three are of the material world: time, instruction(?), and knowlege are of the spiritual world, and help, power and effort are of the material world.

C83c

It has been said that these four faults are present in the hostility of people; complaint,[1] mockery, reproach and avarice.

C83d

There are three kinds of heretics: a deceiver, a deceived one and a self-lover. A self-loving[1] person is one who says: "Sēn[2] is better than Ādurbād"; he accepts Sēn wilfully. A deceived one is like the disciples of Sēn. A deceiver is like Sēn himself, who deliberately[3] twists things away from the manner in which they were taught by the early masters.

C83e

A man in whom there is not found any one of these six qualities does not possess that which is most seemly on the part of the gods: modesty, awe,[1] fear, love, gratitude and hope. Modesty (is) of the gods; awe is of people; fear is from hell; love, for one's own soul; gratitude, for the gods and people; and hope, for the Future Body.

D1a

They say:[1] The venerable Āburbād, son of Mahraspand, established the things of the material world in twenty five chapters; five under fate, five under action, five under habit, five under substance and five under heritage.
Living, wife, children, authority and wealth are mostly by fate;
being righteous or wicked, being a priest, a warrior or a husbandman are mostly by action:
eating, walking, going to women, sleeping and discharging one's (natural) functions are mostly by habit;
character, love, goodness, generosity and truthfulness are mostly by substance;

D1b* ke yazišn ī yazdān a-gumānīh ī pad yazdān ud astīh ī ciš rāy kunēd, hān yazdān frazand u-š gāh pad garōdmān.
ke yazišn ī yazdān astīh ī yazdān ud gumānīgīh ī pad ciš rāy kunēd, hān yazdān brād u-š gāh pad wahišt.
ke yazišn ī yazdān [*B450*] gumānīgīh ī pad yazdān ud gumānīgīh ī pad ciš rāy[1] kunēd, hān yazdān bandag u-š[2] gāh pad hamestagān.
ke[3] yazišn ī yazdān pad an-ast-menišnīh[4] ī yazdān ud pad[5] nēst-dārišnīh ī ciš kunēd, hān yazdān dušman u-š gāh pad dušaxw.

D1c* mard awe farrox-gāh ke-š ēn 5 gāh srūd ēstēd, ud ēn 5 gāh awe srūd ēstēd ke 5 ciš ast: xēm ud xrad ud āštīh ud paymān ud dādestān.[1]
[*K239v*] xēm hān bawēd ke xwad ō kas [*M569*] ne frēbēd, ud xrad hān bawēd ke kas ō awe frēftan ne tawān, ud āštīh hān bawēd ke abāg ruwān ī xwēš āšt, ud paymān hān bawēd ke frēhbūd ud abēbūd ne kunēd, ud dādestān hān bawēd ke abar dēn ī ohrmazd ēstēd.

D2 gōwēnd ku ērbad mard ēwag ādur-narsē ud ēwag ādur-mihr nām būd, ud harw 2 kard-ērbadestān ud abzārōmand, ud kār ud dādestān xwāstan rāy ō dar hamē šud hēnd. ud ēdōn handāxt ku-šān pad xān-ē tōšag ēdōn hanzaft ī-šān ciš-ez ciš ne būd. ud ō gyāg-ē mad hēnd ku tarag ī daštag ud āb ī xwaš mad ēstēd, ud az awēšān ēwag drōn yašt ud ēwag tarag cīd, ud az hān tarag ud āb sēr xward hēnd. ud pas ādur-narsē ō ādur-mihr[1] guft ku ērbad druz-ē kadām stahmag-tar ud xwarišn-ē[2] kadām xwār-tom? ādur-mihr guft ku druz-ē āz stahmag-tar ud xwarišn-ē [*K240r*] ham ēn xwār-tom ī amāh nūn xward. ud pas ādur-narsē guft ku ka hān ī stahmag-tar druz pad hān ī xwār-tom xwarišn be šāyēd zadan[3] amāh xwēš-tan ō āmārōmandīh ī gētīg dādan ud pad wināhgārīh warōmand[4] būdan ce abāyēd? ud pad hān uskār az[5] anōh wašt ud abāz ō xwēš [*B451*] xānag šud hēnd ud pad xwēš-kārīh ud wirāstagīh raft hēnd.

D1b *The text occurs also in *Nir.* 194v. A NPers. version is in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, II, 21; trsl. Dhabhar, 406 f. [1]Nir. om. [2]B + *pad* [3]K, B *ke* [4]B *ast-menišnīh*; Nir. *an-ast-menišnīh* [5]K p

D1c *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147v. lines 13 ff., cf. Bthl., *Zendhdsch.*, 181; another version is in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 486 f.; trsl. Dhabhar, 332 n. [1]M55 *dēn*

D2 [1]B *mihr* [2]B *xwarišnīg* [3]B + *abāg* [4]B om. [5]K + *ce* (or probably *abar*)

awareness, comprehension, body, luminosity and seemliness (?) are mostly by heritage.

D1b

A man[1] who performs the worship of the gods with certainty as to the gods and with (faith in) the reality of the thing,[2] is a son of the gods and his place is in the highest heaven.

A man who performs the worship of the gods with (faith in) the existence of the gods but with doubt as to the thing, is a brother of the gods and his place is in Paradise.

A man who performs the worship of the gods with doubt as to the gods and with doubt as to the thing, is a slave of the gods and his place is in the Middle Region.

A man who performs the worship of the gods with the thought that the gods do not exist and that the thing does not exist, is an enemy of the gods and his place is in Hell.

D1c

That man has a happy place who has recited these five *gāthās*, and that man has recited these five *gāthās* who has five things: character, wisdom, peace, measure, and law.

That is character: A man who by himself does not tell a lie to anyone.

That is wisdom: A man to whom no one can tell a lie.[1]

That is peace: A man who is at peace with his own soul.

That is measure: A man who does not commit excess or deficiency.

That is the law: A man who stands by the religion of Ohrmazd.

D2

They say:[1] There were two priestly men, the name of one of whom was Ādur-Narse and the name of the other Ādur-Mihr.[2] Both were learned[3] and capable. They went (once) to the court in pursuit of a (certain) business. It so happened[4] that their provisions came to an end in a halting-place in such a manner that there was nothing (more) with them. They came to a place where there grew desert leek and there was sweet water. One of them recited the prayer over a meal and the other collected leek, and they ate and drank to their satisfaction from the leek and the water.

D3 gōwēnd ku ērbad mard 2[1] ī abzārōmand[2] ke āgnēn ham-kār ud wirāstagīhā ud pahrēxtagīhā raft hēnd, rōz-ē ka-šān āb az cāh hamē āhixt [*M570*] ud warz ī kard ēstād[3] āb hamē dād ud abastāg ud zand pad āgnēn hamē guft, handāzišn a'ōn būd ku mōbadān mōbad pad hān nazdīkīh andar rāh[4] ī šahr hamē widard ud gōwišn ī awēšān ašnūd ud dānist ku abzārōmand hēnd,[5] ud xīr[6] ud rāyēnišn ī awēšān wizustan ud kār ud bār[7] ī awēšān[8] handāxtan kāmist. mard-ē pad paygām ō [*K240v*] awēšān[9] frēstīd ku agartān[10] ne ranzagīhā sahēd frāz awar. ud awēšān paygām passox ēn[11] guft ku amāh[12] kār-ē pad dast, ud ka be āyēm kār be mānēd, ud ērbad pad stōr nišīnēd ud frāz āmadan ne a'ōn ranzagīhā, ud amāh-ez kār be ne mānēd. ud mōbadān mōbad ka hān saxwan ašnawēd[13] andēšēd ku dānāgīhā gōwēnd, ud xwad frāz šud ud abāg awēšān saxwan rāyēnīd[14] ud ō kār ud bār[7] *bawandag[15] āzādīhā dād. awēšān guft ku abāg[16] amāh hān ciš andar ne abāyēd, u-mān a'ōn weh sahēd ka ham ciš ī dast-ranz ī xwēš zahēm, be ce'ōn-mān ašnūd *huniyāg-ez-ē[18] sar andar ō xānag ī ērbad wišād[19] ēstēd. ēdōn kun[20] ku ērbad az[21] was-ābīh ud kasān az tang-ābīh ne mīrēnd. ud awe dānist ku ēn saxwan was-xwāstagīh ī man rāy gōwēnd, ud ō xwēš xānag šud u-š ō awēšān jud jud drahm 2000 frēstād.[22] ud awēšān [*K241r*] harw mard-ē be 2 drahm frēh ciš ne stānēd ud abārīg abāz frēstēd. u-šān pad paygām passox ēdōn guft ku amāh ēn ne guft ku hān[23] asēm (?)[24] ō xānag[25] ī amāh kun, ud amāh hān ī abāyēd [*B452*] stad ud abārīg abāz *frēstād[26], tō ō awe kas deh ke[27] az [*M571*] amāh wēš-uzīn-tar u-š pad[28] kār abēr-tar andar abāyēd.

D3 [1]*mard 2*: B *2 mard* [2]B *abzārōmandīh* [3]B *ēstēd* [4]K, B **l'd** [5]B om. [6]B **cyt'** [7]spelled **b'xl** [8]MSS **'wbš'n** [9]K, B om. [10]B **XT''n** [11]B *ēn-ez* [12]K, B om. [13]B, DP *ašnūd* [14]*saxwan rāyēnīd*: K *guft ud rāyēnīd*; B *guft* [15]MSS *wndky* [16]B, DP om. [17]K + *dast* [18]MSS **xwnyd'kp' l** (reading doubtful) [19]B **š't'** [20]K, B **'BYDWNd** [21]B om. [22]B *frēstēd* [23]spelled **'n'** [24]K, B **'d'p'd'sp'**; DP (?) **'sm'd'sp'** (? – Sanjana attributes this latter version to K, but as K has a different reading, he may have confused K and DP. If this reading actually occurs, it may perhaps be interpreted as *asēm* + ***KASP'**, an unusual spelling of the ideogram for *asēm*, normally spelled **KSP'**. The unusual juxtaposition of an Iranian word and its Aramaic mask may be explained by the intrusion into the text of a gloss on the ideogram, which may be supposed to have originally beeen written alone; but this is mere surmise.) [25]B **x'n'** [26]MSS *frēstēd* [27]B om. [28]B om.

Then Ādur-Narse spoke to Ādur-Mihr: "O Priest, what demon is the fiercest, and what food is the humblest?" Ādur-Mihr said: "The one demon that is fiercest is concupiscence, and the humblest food is this very same one that we have eaten now." Ādur-Narse then said: "If it is possible to smite the fiercest demon with the humblest food, why do we need to surrender ourselves to the accounting of the material world and be in doubt concerning sinfulness?" With this thought they turned away from there and returned to their homes,[5] and lived (henceforth) in fulfilment of duty and in discipline.

D3

They say:[1] (There were) two capable priestly men who lived together as associates, being disciplined and observant. One day, while they were drawing water from the well, irrigating the tilled land which they worked on and reciting the Avesta and Zand[2] together, it so happened that the chief priest was passing by in that vicinity on the main road, and heard words spoken about them[3] and knew that they were capable. He desired to find out about their affairs and to assess their work.[4] He sent to them a man with a message as follows: "If it does not seem to you troublesome, come hither." They sent a message in reply as follows: "We have work on hand. If we come, the work will be left (undone). The priest (viz. you) sits on a horse, and it is not so troublesome (to him) to come forth (here); our work, besides, will not be left (undone)." When the chief priest heard these words, he thought: "They speak wisely". He went forth himself, conversed with them and gave full praise to their work. They said: "This thing is not necessary with us.[5] It seems to us better when we seek that very thing which is the labour of our own hands. But as we have heard, there has opened up in the house of the priest (i.e. you) merry-making (?).[6] Act so that the priest (viz. you) should not die of abundance of water and that (other) people should not die of scarcity of water". He knew: "They speak these words concerning my opulence", and he went to his home and sent to each one of them two thousand *drahms*. Each one of them took no more than two *drahms* and sent the rest back. They said in their message of reply as follows: "We did not tell you to give that silver (?) to our

D4 gōwēnd ku xusrō ī anōšag-ruwān guft ku ēn 3 wāzag wāzag xwadāyān ud[1] pādexšāyān ud tawānīgān ud abārīg-ez[2] harw kas be šnāxtan ud kār az-eš kardan a-wizīrišnīgīhā andar abāyēd: ēwag frasāwandīh be šnāxtan, ud ēwag[3] ēr-menišnīh, ud ēwag hunsandīh. ce pad šnāsagīh ī frasāwandīh ī xwēš be šnāxtan ī hān ī andar-ez ēwag rōz-šabān be šāyēd madan.
ud pad ēr-menišnīh xwēš menišn pad ēn warm be kunēd ku hān-ez ī duš-cihr-tom[4] anāgīh ī andar gēhān ēdōn sam[5] šāyēd burdan ō-z man šāyēd madan.
[*K241v*] ud pad hunsandīh ka-š anāgīh-ē pad hān ēwēnag aweš rasēd ī cārag xwāstan ne šāyēd kāmagīhā pad-eš hunsand[6] bawēd ud wad dogānag be[7] ne kunēd, ēwag hān ī az[8] anāgīh ī frāz rasēd, ud ēwag hān ī az a-hunsandīh. guft ēstēd ku ke pad hān ī mad ēstēd[9] hunsand ēg-eš niyāz ne paydāg, ce ke hunsand tawānīg ud ke pan-āmār a-cārag.

D5 gōwēnd ku[1] wehdād ī ādur-ohrmazdān ī mōbadān mōbad būd frāz ō gyāg-ē mad u-š ērbad mard 2 dīd ke ēzm az kōf pad pušt ī xwēš hamē kašīd ud ranzag būd hēnd, u-šān abastāg ud zand pad āgnēn hamē guft. u-š[2] az awēšān pursīd ku ka šmāh kerdgār ud abzārōmand paydāg hēd,[3] ce cim rāy kār ī pad ēn ēwēnag hamē kunēd. ud awēšān pad ꞯpassox guft ku-mān [*M572*] ašnūd ēstēd ku anāgīh ī ahreman be dād[4] pāyagīhā [*K242r*] harw kas gyāg-ē[5] widārdan abāyēd pad gētīg ayāb pad mēnōg, ud amāh a'ōn weh [*B453*] sahēd ka bahr ī xwēš pad gētīg be widārēm *ku[6] abāg anāgīh widārišnīh rōšnīh-ez ī xwaršēd ud māh wēnēm ud xwarišn dārišnīh ud darmān ud cārag ī anāgīh ud abārīg was[7] nēwagīh windēm, u-mān pad hān xīr spās-ez-ē hangārd ud passand-ē az mēnōgān ud gētīgān bawēd. ud ne[8] mēnōgīhā pad dušaxw widārēm *ku[9] ciš-ez nēwagīh pad-gumēzag nēst ud hangārd ud passand ī az kas fradom nēst, ud az-ez gyāg ī a'ōn abd[10] ce'ōn wahišt judāg bawēm.

D4 [1]B + pt' [2]B *abārīg* [3]K dwk' [4]K, DP (?) + *duš-cihrag-tom*; B + *duš-cihr-tom* [5]DP šm [6]B + AMTš [7]B om. [8]B om. [9]B om.
D5 [1]K, B om. [2]B *u-šān* [3]B *hēm* [4]B + *ēstēd* [5]*kas gyāg-ē*: B *gyāg-ē kas-ē* [6]MSS *ke* [7]B om. [8]B lsc [9]MSS *ke* [10]K, B om.

house. Whatever was necessary we took and have sent the rest back; give it to a man who has more expenditure than we and who is in greater need of it".

D4

They say: Khusrō of Immortal Soul said: It is necessary that lords, rulers and men in high authority as well as other people should know each one of these three sayings and should carry them out without fail.[1] One is to know transience; one is humility; one is contentment.

For by knowing one's transience, one knows that which may come even within one span of a day and night.

Through humility one commits to memory in one's mind the following: "even the ugliest misfortune which it is possible to fear thus in the world, even that may come to me."

Through contentment, when misfortune befalls a man in such a manner that it is impossible to seek remedy, he is content with it willingly and does not produce twofold evil, (namely,) one, that which derives from the misfortune which has befallen him, and one, that which derives from discontent.

It has been said: A man who is content with that which has come, no need is manifest in him. For he who is content is opulent, and he who is avaricious in reckoning is helpless.

D5

They say:[1] Wehdād, son of Ādur-Ohrmazd,[2] who was chief priest, came to a certain place and saw two priests who were carrying on their backs firewood from a mountain, and who were weary, and were reciting Avesta and Zand in unison. He asked them: "As you appear to be performers of pious deeds and capable, for what purpose do you do a work of this nature?" They said in reply: "We heard that every person must undergo the discomfort created by Ahreman, according to (his) degree, at one place, either in the material world or in the spiritual world. It seems to us better if we undergo our share in the material world, where we see, at the same time as undergoing discomfort, also the light of the sun and the moon, and we gain possession of nourishment, medicine and remedy to discomfort, and

D6a gōwēnd ku ham wehdād[1] guft ku ke dirang zamān az pas dānāgān raft ēstēd ud xwad-ez dānāg, ēg-ez-eš dānišn-ē ēn[2] sūdōmand-tar ka bāstān andar ō tan ī xwēš nigerēd ku ce hēm ud abar ce ēstēm ud az pas ce hēm.

D6b u-š ēn-ez guft wehdād ku yazdān ciš-ē pākīh wēš andar abāyēd, ud pākīh-ē xēm ī nēwag weh, ud ke xēm ne wirāst [*K242v*] ēstēd[1] rasišn ī yazdān ō tan kam[2] bawēd.

D7a gōwēnd ku[1] ādurbād ī mahraspandān guft ku mardomān xēm ī wad be šnāsišn ud dūr az-eš pahrēzišn ce ka xēm ī wad šnāxt ud az-eš pahrēxt druz škast ud mard buxt.

D7b ādurbād ēn-ez guft ku hagrez anāgīh-ē ō man ne mad ke-m ēn 3 āsān-menišnīh andar ne būd. ēwag ēn ku az [*M573*] abzār ī ahreman kast ud pad man be uzīd. ēwag ēn ku āzādīhā ce wattar šāyēd hēh būdan.[1] ud ēwag ēn ku-m[2] anāgīh-ē ō tan ī frasāwand[3] mad ne ō ruwān ī hamēyīg.

D7c ādurbād ēn-ez guft ku hagrez man kas rāy nēwag ud kas man rāy wad pad *mādagwarīh[1] ne kard, ce-mān[2] jud jud mādagwarīhā pad xwēš-tan[3] kard.

D6a [1]B **xwd't'** [2]B om.
D6b [1]B *ēstišn* [2]B k'm: K **kym**
D7a [1]B om.
D7b [1]B om. [2]B *ku* [3]B *frasāwandīh*
D7c [1]K **m'tklyx'**; B **m'tkwlyx'** [2]B + *ēn* [3]K,DP *xwēš*

many other (kinds of) good things; we have by this thing also gratitude, consideration (?) and approval from spiritual and material beings; rather than undergo (our share of discomfort) in the spiritual world, in hell, where no good thing is intermixed,[3] and there is no consideration (?) and approval from any one at all (?), and also be cut off from a place as wonderful as paradise."

D6a

They say. The same Wehdād said: A man who has for a long time followed wise people, and who is himself wise, this one knowledge is most beneficial for him, namely when he examines himself constantly, (asking:) "What am I? What do I uphold? What do I follow?"

D6b

Wehdād said this too: To the gods one thing of purity is most needed; as purity good character is best. A man whose character is not disciplined, the gods come less to his body.

D7a

They say. Ādurbād, son of Mahraspand, said: People should know bad character and keep away from it, for when a man has come to know bad character and has avoided it, the demons are smitten and the man is saved.

D7b

Ādurbād said this too:[1] Never has a misfortune befallen me in which these three comforting thoughts were not present for me. One is this: "(This misfortune) has been deducted from the means of Ahreman, and it has been expended on me." One is this: "I am thankful, for it might have been worse." One is this: "A misfortune has befallen my transient body, not my eternal soul."

D7c

Ādurbād said this too: I have never done good to anyone in essential matters,[1] nor has any one ever done evil to me in essential matters, for each one of us does the essential things to himself.

D7d ādurbād ēn-ez guft [*B454*] ku[1] awarēd tā xwēš-tan arzānīg be kunēd, ce farrox awe ī arzānīg. ēnyā[2] yazdān sūd-šnās hēnd ud dānēnd ku nēwagīh ī pad kas [*K243r*] kunihēd ce'ōn abāyišnīg-tar, pad gētīg ayāb pad mēnōg, ud nigerēnd[3] ud handāzēnd ud pādāšn ī arzānīgān[4] ō anōh ku[5] burdan weh šāyēd barēnd, ce harw 2 awēšān xwēš, mēnōg ud gētīg, ud pad hān bahrag awe ī arzānīg hamē[6] šnāyišn *bawēd.[7]

D7e fradāg-ez wēnēm ud dānēm u-m[1] pad daxšag u-m tawān kardan dēwē ast ī frēftār ī spōzgār ī wiyābāngar ī garān-wināh.

D8 gōwēnd ku ādurbād ī zarduštān ēn dēw spurrīg zad ēstād, ce hamē harw kirbag ī frāz mad ī be rāyēnīdan šāyēd pad xwēš hangām be rāyēnīd ud ō zamān ī wēš ne spuxt.

D9 ham ādurbād rāy gōwēnd ku-š guft ku harw kas be abāyēd dānistan ku az[1] ku[2] āmad hēm ud cim ēdar hēm ud abāz ō ku šawēm, ud man pad bahr ī xwēš dānēm *ku[3] az ohrmazd ī xwadāy āmad hēm ud a-pādexšāy kardan ī druz rāy ēdar hēm ud abāz ō ohrmazd [*K243v*] šawēm.

D10 gōwēnd ku ādurfarnbag[1] ud ādur [*M574*] bōzēd ce'ōn abāg wehdād[2] pad mōbadān mōbadīh ham-kār būd hēnd ō wehdād[3] pursīd ku[4] ka amāh-ez abastāg ud zand warm ud mōbadān mōbad hēm tō[5] ce rāy pad ērbadīh nām wēš barēnd ku amāh. wehdād pad passox[6] guft ku magar[7] az ēn hēd ku agar ēbār[8] ō ahlāyīh taft hēm hagrez be ne absard hēm.

D7d [1]B 'y [2]MSS 'yny'; B + dxywpt' [3]B *nigerēnēnd* [4]B *arzānīg* [5]B om. [6]B *az-eš* [7]MSS *bawišn*

D7e [1]B repeats

D8 [1]K, B om. [2]B om. [3]MSS *ce*

D9 *NPers. versions are in M55 fol. 71a 12; Paris, suppl. persan 46, fols. 33-35 (Blochet, *Cat.*, LXV); *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 489.3-5; trsl. Dhabhar, 335.

D10 [1]K, DP *farnbag* [2]B xwd't' [3]*pad mōbadān...wehdād*: K, B om. [4]B om. [5]K repeats [6]K 'wsxw' [7]K AL XT (= *ma agar*); B MXL XT [8]DP 'yb'l; K, B LAWXL

D7d

Ādurbād said this too: Come hither, so that you may make yourselves worthy, for happy is he who is worthy. The gods, besides,[1] know the benefit; they know how it is most seemly for a good thing to be done to a person, in the material or in the spiritual world; they contemplate and assess, and assign the reward of the worthy to the place where it is best to assign it to, for both worlds belong to them, the material and the spiritual. For this reason there is always satisfaction to a worthy man.

D7e

There[1] is a demon who is deceitful, delaying, leading astray, causing grievous sin (by employing the following thought as a stratagem:) "tomorrow too I shall see and know; I shall keep it in mind; I have the power to do (a virtuous deed)."

D8

They say:[1] Ādurbād, son of Zardušt.[2] smote this demon completely, because he performed in time every good deed that came forth, and that it was possible to perform, and did not postpone it for a long time.

D9

They say concerning the same Ādurbād that he said:[1] Every person ought to know: "Where have I came from? For what purpose am I here? Where do I return?" I, for my part, know that I came from Ohrmazd the Lord, that I am here so as to make the demons powerless, and that I shall return to Ohrmazd.

D10

They say: Ādurfarnbag and Ādurbōzēd[1] asked Wehdād, as they were associates of Wehdād in the dignity of chief priest: "We too have memorized the Avesta and Zand, and are chief priests, why is it that you are more renowned in priesthood than we are?" Wehdād said in reply: "It is perhaps because of this, namely, if I once[2] grow warm for a righteous purpose I never cool off".[3]

D11* gōwēnd ku mard-ē frāz ō kōf-ē mad ud mard-ē dīd ī andar hān kōf mānist, az-eš pursīd ku ce-nām hēh, u-t ce[1] [*B455*] kār ud ce xwarišn. ud mērag guft ku ranz-spōz nām hēm, u-m xwarišn bar ī draxtān, u-m[2] kār ēn ku wināh ne kunēm. ud hān mard guft ku nēwag-ez ēd nām ud nēwag-ez ēd kār ud nēwag-ez ēd xwarišn. ud mērag guft ku az tō ke be stānēnd.[3] ud hān mard guft[4] ku a-husandīh az man be stānēnd.[5]

D12 gōwēnd ku ohrmazd ī sigzīg andar be widīrišnīh pad andarz ō hāwištān ī xwēš guft ku-tān 3 wāzag [*K244r*] gōwēm ud agar tag andar kār dārēd ēg-tān nēwagīh ī mēnōg xwār ō xwēš kardan. hamē ēdōn dārēd ku 30 sāl ast tā be murd hēm u-mān kāmag ud ārzōg ī tan rāy ō wināh kardan ciš-ez kār nēst. ud zan ud frazand ī xwēš rāy ēdōn menēd ku-šān nān az kasān abāyēd xwāstan. ud xwāstag ī xwēš rāy[1] ēdōn dārēd ce'ōn ward ī pad dašt abgand ēstēd. ud kār ud kirbag ī kardan šāyēd abar tuxšēd ud frāz ō pēš ma spōzēd.

E1 [S vol. XIII] guft ēstēd ku mard ka-š xwēš xēm [*M575*] wirāst ud xwēš-tan ēwagānagīhā ō yazdān abspārēd, az hān frāz yazdān awe ēdōn pahrēzēnd ud dārēnd[1] ce'ōn mard-ē ke[2] gōdar-ē ēmēdwār ast, u-š rasan-ē ō sruw bandēd ud andar ō warz ud kišwān[3] nayēd, ud ō anōh ku carag frāz dārēd ud az anōh ku wināh abāz dārēd.

E2* guft ēstēd[1] ku harw kas[2] harw rōz kamist 3 bār pad xwēš-tan [*K244v*] ul[2] nigerišn ku-m ke abāg, yazd ayāb dēw. ud agar-eš yazd abāg ēg-eš pad xwēš-tan mehmān-tar be kunišn, ud agar-eš druz abāg az xwēš-tan a-pādexšāy be kunišn.

D11 *A NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 17 ff., cf. Bthl., *Zendhdschr.*, 181. [1]B repeats [2]B *u-t* [3]spelled **YNSBWN** + final ligature [4]B om. [5]cf. n. 3

D12 [1] *ī xwēš rāy*: K om.

E1 [1] *ēwagānagīhā. . .dārēnd*: B om. [2]B om. [3]B *kišw*

E2 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 9 f. [1]K om. [2]*harw kas*: B om. [3]K, B **LAWXL**

D11

They say:[1] A man came to a mountain and saw a man who was living on that mountain. He asked him: "What is your name? What is your work? What is your food?" The fellow[2] said: "My name is He Who Puts Off Pain;[3] my food is the fruit of the trees; and my work is that I do not commit sin". That man said: "Fair indeed is this name, fair indeed is this work, fair indeed is this food". The fellow said: "What[4] do they take from you?" That man said: "They take (away) from me discontent".[5]

D12

They say: Ohrmazd of Sīstān[1] said in admonition to his disciples at the time of (his) death:[2] "I shall speak three words to you, and if you perform them swiftly, it will be easy for you to appropriate to yourselves the good things of the spiritual world. Always bear in mind: It will be thirty years till we die; it is of no use at all to us to commit sins to satisfy the desire and craving of the body. Think thus concerning your wife and children: They will have to seek bread from other people. Think thus of your possessions: They will be thrown in the desert like dust. Be diligent over virtuous deeds which can be done and do not put them off."

E1

It has been said: When a man has disciplined his character and surrenders himself to the gods in obedience, from that time on the gods guard and maintain him like a man who has a promising calf, who ties a cord around its horn and leads it to tilled fields,[1] letting it forth in places where there is pasture and keeping it away from places where there is harm.

E2

It has been said:[1] Every person must look into himself at least three times every day (and enquire): "Who is with me, a god or a demon?" If a god is with him he ought to make him to dwell more in himself, and if a demon is with him he ought to make him powerless over him.

E3* guft ēstēd ku harw kas-ē harw rōz[1] āmār ī tan ud ruwān be kunišn ku-m im-rōz hān ī xward az ku [*B456*] xward, u-m ce kard, ud az bunīh ku būd hēm, ud kay mad hēm, ud ēdar ce kunēm, ud kay be šawēm, ud cim be šawēm, ud ka be šawēm[2] ō ku šawēm.

E4 guft ēstēd ku mēnōg-warrawišnīh mard bāstān mēnōgān ud gētīgān ī weh rāy [menēd] ud az ane menišn ranzag ud gursag *bawēd,[1] daxšag ī mēnōg-warrawišnīh.

E5* guft ēstēd ku mēnōg-dōst hān bawēd ke kirbag ī kunēd mēnōgān rāy kunēd, ud mizd az mēnōgān xwāhēd ne az gētīgān.

E6 guft ēstēd ku[1] rād hān bawēd ke az[2] xwēš gīrēd ud ō wehān dahēd ud ruwān dōšārm[3] rāy dahēd.

E7 [*K245r*] guft ēstēd ku wistāxwīh ī pad kas hān weh ī pad yazdān, ud wistāxwīh ī pad xwēš hān [weh] ī pad ruwān, ud wistāxwīh ī pad ciš hān weh ī pad kunišn ī frārōn dārēd.[1]

E8* guft ēstēd ku xēm ī abēzag hān ēwāz ī ka āz [*M576*] ud ārzōg,[1] ud xrad ī abēzag hān ī ka xešm ud waran, ud dēn ī abēzag hān ī ka *šarm[2] ud nang frāz rasēd be spuxtan ud zadan tawān. ud ka xēm wirāst xrad mad, ud ka xrad[3] mad dēn mad, ud ka dēn mad wināh ne kunēd, ud ka wināh ne kunēd ēg-eš hagrez anāg ne bawēd.

E3 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 7 f. [1]B + *bār* [2]*ud ka be šawēm*: B om.
E4 [1]MSS *būd*
E5 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 5 f.
E6 [1]B repeats [2]K, B om. [3]K repeats with correction
E7 [1]DP *bawēd*
E8 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 3 ff. [1]K 'ltwk'; B 'ltwkn' [2]MSS šm [3]B + *dēn*

E3

It has been said:[1] Every person ought to do the reckoning of his body and soul every day, (considering:) "That which I have eaten today, where have I eaten it from? What have I done? Where was I in the origin? When did I come? What am I doing here? When shall I depart? For what reason shall I depart? When I depart, whither shall I go?"

E4

It has been said:[1] A man who has faith in the spirits [thinks] constantly of the good spiritual and material beings and becomes tired and hungry by other thoughts. (This is) the mark of faith in the spirits.

E5

It has been said: He is a friend of the spirits who performs good deeds for the sake of the spirits and who seeks reward from the spirits, not from material beings.[1]

E6

It has been said: He is a generous man who takes from his own and who gives to good people, and who gives that for love of the soul.

E7

It has been said: That confidence in someone is best which a man has in the gods.That confidence in himself is best which he has in the soul. That confidence in something is best which he has in righteous action.

E8

It has been said: That alone is undefiled character which, when greed and craving come forth, can repel and smite them.

That is undefiled wisdom which, when wrath and lust come forth, can repel and smite them.

That is undefiled religion which, when shame and disgrace come forth, can repel and smite them.

When character is disciplined, wisdom comes; when wisdom has come, religion comes; when religion has come, (the man) does not commit sins; when he does not commit sins he will never have evil.

E9 guft ēstēd ku ke pad[1] hunar abastān abāz ō tan ī xwēš kunēd ud pad menišn az wizāy (?)[2] ī awe ī did be wardēd ud abar rāstīh ul ēstēd awe bāstān yazd pad tan hēnd.

E10* guft ēstēd ku dar wišād dārišn ku tā-š mardom ō xānag rasēnd, ce ke mardom ō xānag ne rasēnd ēg-eš yazdān ō xānag[1] ne rasēnd, ce hamē yazdān *[K245v; B457]* rasišn ō anōh[2] wēš ku mardom rasišn wēš, ud mardomān[3] rasišn ō anōh wēš ku xwarišn ud dārišn windēnd.

E11* guft ēstēd ku ke may xwarēd[1] ud az-eš ēn 5 ciš ō paydāgīh[2] āyēd hān-eš daxšag ī ahlawīh: bawandag-menišnīh ud wahman-dārīh ud mardom-dōstīh ud rādīh ud āšt-xwāhīh. ud kē ēn 5 ciš ō paydāgīh āyēd hān-eš daxšag ī druwandīh: tar-menišnīh ud an-āštīh ud mardom-dušmanīh ud xešmenīh ud panīh.

E12 guft ēstēd ku awe ī druwand mardom fradom šēwan pad ruwān bawēd ud pas dānēd ku frēft ēstēm.

E13 guft ēstēd ku ēwag ne andak ud 1000 ne was. ēwag xīr ī mēnōg ud 1000 hān ī gētīg.

E14 guft ēstēd ku pad gētīg rayēnišnīh *[M577]* nīrang 1000 ne ciš. ud pad mēnōg rāyēnišnīh nīrang ēwag[1] ciš hān.

E15 *[K246r]* guft ēstēd ku 1000 mard ō mard-ē pad gōwišn ēdōn ne šāyēnd warrawēnīdan ce'ōn mard-ē ō 1000 mard[1] pad kunišn.

E16 guft ēstēd ku gētīg-frēhbūd-ārāy mard mēnōg-wišuft[1] bawēd. hān rāy gētīg paymānīg and frāz abāyēd griftan cand hān ī mēnōg ne wišōbēd.[2]

E9 [1]B om. [2]spelled **wz'b**

E10 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147b 2 f. [1]K, B om. [2]*rasišn ō anōh*: B *ō anōh rasēd* [3]B *mardom*

E11 *A versified NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147a 12 ff. [1]B *xward* [2]B *paydāg*

E14 [1]B + *hān*

E15 [1]B + **kwn**

E16 [1]K, DP *wišōbēd* [2]B + *bawēd. . .hān rāy gētīg*

E9

It has been said:[1] A man who puts his trust as regards skill in himself, and who turns away, in thought, from harming another person, and who abides in truth – the gods[2] are always in his body.

E10

It has been said:[1] One ought to keep one's door open so that people should come to one's house. For a man to whose house people do not come, the gods do not come to his house. Because the gods always come more to a place where people come more, and people come more to a place where they get food and possession.

E11

It has been said:[1] A man who drinks wine, and of whom these five things become manifest, this is the mark of his righteousness: humility, kindliness, love of people, generosity and peacefulness.

But a man in whom these five things become manifest, this is the mark of his wickedness: arrogance, lack of peace, hositility to people, irascibility and avarice.

E12

It has been said: A man who is wicked first has lamentation in his soul, then he knows: "I have been deceived".

E13

It has been said:[1] One is not a little and a thousand is not much. "One" is spiritual things, "a thousand" is material things.

E14

It has been said: In taking care of material things a thousand rituals are nothing. In taking care of spiritual things one ritual is that (very) thing.

E15

It has been said: A thousand men cannot cause one man to believe by words in such a way as one man can cause a thousand men by action.

E16

It has been said: A man who is an excessive adorner of the material world becomes a destroyer of the spiritual world. For this reason it is necessary to take the material world in measure to such an extent (only) that the

ka-šān nigerīd dānāgān ī šnāsagān pēšēnīgān dīd frasāwandīh ī xīr ī gētīg ud hamēyīgīh ī xīr ī mēnōg hān ī ka gētīg rāyēnišnīh, be hān ī paymānīg ēdōn ne šāyēd[3] rāyēnīdan, ka ō mēnōg ne wizamdgār ud wišuftār, hān-šān cimīg sahist. ud xīr ī gētīg hān ī frēh az paymān frāz hilišn ku tā gētīg rēbagīh rāy hān ī weh ku gētīg az-eš ābār ma bawād.[4]

E17 guft ēstēd ku dārūg ēwag ud wāzag ēwag. [*B458*] dārūg paymān xwarišnīh ud wāzag hamēšag menīdārīh ī ahlāyīh.

E18 guft ēstēd ku paymān xwarišnīh pad tan weh [*K246v*] ud paymān gōwišnīh pad ruwān.

E19 guft ēstēd ku gugārišn ī xwarišn pad tan weh ud gugārišn ī xešm pad ruwān.

E20 guft ēstēd ku az abar-tanīh[1] wanē-būdagīh, ud az xwad-dōšagīh[2] ziyān ī garān, ud az nang-parastišnīh rāh ī dušaxw kēnwar mard ruwān ne[3] bōzēd.

E21 guft ēstēd ku ne kas ciš kard[1] ke ne ruwān kard tā nūn. ud ne [*M578*] kas ciš[2] kunēd ke ne ruwān kunēd az nūn frāz.

E22a gōwēnd ku baxt-āfrīd guft ku tā fraškerd zamān[1] harw ke andar gētīg ranz-spōz nām gētīg ka grift hilēnd ud ka hilēnd grift.

E22b u-š ēn-ez guft ku ke ēn ne sūyēd hān ne gīrēd, ud ke hān ne wēnēd ēn[1] ne sūyēd. ēn gētīg ud hān mēnōg.

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[3] K, DP + *būd*; B + *bawēd* [4] B, DP *bawēd*

E20 [1] B **'ww 'pwltyx** [2] K, DP **xwdwškyx** [3] B om.

E21 [1] K, B om. [2] K, B om.

E22a [1] B + *ke*

E22b [1] B **MND'M**

spiritual world should not be destroyed. When the wise men, i.e. the ancient learned men, considered and saw the transience of material things and the permanence of spiritual things, it seemed to them reasonable when material things are being taken care of, except that which it is not possible to take care of in measure, provided that the person does not cause harm and destruction to the spirit. One ought to relinquish material things which are in excess of the measure, so that one should not lose, because of the delusion[1] of the material world, that which is better than material things.

E17

It has been said: The medicament is one and the word is one. The medicament is eating with measure; the word is constant thinking of righteousness.

E18

It has been said: Eating with measure is best for the body, and speaking with measure is best for the soul.

E19

It has been said: The digestion of food is best for the body and the digestion of wrath[1] for the soul.

E20

It has been said. A vengeful man does not save his soul from haughtiness, (which is) destruction; and from self-love, (which is) grievous harm; and from worship of fame, (which is) the way to hell.

E21

It has been said: No one has done until now anything that the soul has not done; and no one will do from now on anything that the soul does not do.

E22a

They say: Baxt-āfrīd said: Until the time of the Renovation, all those who are called in the material world "He Who Repels Pain" let go of the material world when it holds them, and when they let go, it holds them.[1]

E22b

He said this too: A man who does not neglect[1] this does not grasp that; and a man who does not see that does not neglect this. "This" is the material world and "that" is the spiritual world.

E22c u-š ēn-ez guft ku abē-nām bawēd ke nām xwāhēd, ud abdom-ez nām awe xwēš ke nām andar ne abāyēd.

E22d u-š ēn-ez guft ku rēštag ēw-tāg. ka sar-ē harw ke [andar] gēhān pad dast ud sar-ē man, ēg-šān be[1] [*K249r*] wisāndan ne tawān, ce ka awēšān frāz āhinzēnd man frāz[2] sūyēm.

E22e u-š ēn-ez guft ku-m āwām-menišnīh ne būd tā hān ī ka-m abēzagīh az *xwad[1] ud passand az yazdān xwāst.

E22f u-š, ēn-ez guft[1] ku harw kas[2] abar menišn ī xwēš kār ī kūrwārgarīh[3] ud dōrgarīh (?) ud gāzarīh ud āhangarīh kardan abāyēd.[4]
ce a'ōn ce'ōn *kūrwārgar[5] [pōst][5a] az gird xwahēd[6] ud narm kunēd [ham-gōnag] harw mardom menišn ī xwēš xwastan[7] ud narm[8] kardan abāyēd.
ud ēdōn-ez dōrgar[9] dār-ē xwār (?)[10] ud rāst be kunēd ham-gōnag mardom menišn ī xwēš ō frārōnīh rōn āhixtan ud rāst dāštan abāyēd.
ud a'ōn ce'ōn gāzar jāmag šōyēd ud az rīman pāk[11] be kunēd ham-gōnag mardom [*B459*] menišn ī[12] xwēš az xēm ī wad ud wināhgārīh šustan ud pāk dāštan abāyēd.
ud a'ōn ce'ōn āhangar āhan tābēd ud garm kunēd [*M579*] ham-gōnag mardom menišn ī xwēš ō kirbag xīr tāftan ud garm dāštan abāyēd.

E23 guft ēstēd ku rād hān bawēd ke xwāstag [*K249v*] az arzānīgān ne abaxšāyēd, ud xwāstag ī mard pad anōšag dārišn hān ast ī sazāgīhā be dahēd tā abārīg xwāstag ō mard ayāb mard ō xwāstag hišt.

E24 guft ēstēd ku wanēgar hān bawēd ke ō wattarān ciš dahēd.

E22d [1] B **byw'** [2] wrongly divided in B: **pr'/'c**
E22e [1] MSS NPŠH
E22f *A NPers. version is in M55 fol. 147a 6 ff. [1] K, B + *ēstēd* [2] B om. [3] NP version **klγ'rkr** [4] B + *abar* [5] MSS *kurwārgarīh* [5a] NP has this word [6] spelled **YPLXWNyt**; NP *bi-šōyad* [7] cf. n. 6 [8] *kunēd. . .narm*: K, B om. [9] B **dlgl** [10] K **xw'xl**; B **xwd'l** [11] B repeats [12] B + *tābēd ud garm kunēd ham-gōnag mardom menišn*
E23 [1] MSS *dārišn* [2] B *xwāstagīh*

E22c

He said this too: He who seeks fame becomes nameless. Ultimately fame belongs to him who does not require fame.

E22d

He said this too:[1] There is a single rope. If all the people in the world held one end of it in their hand, and I had one end, they would not be able to pull it away (from me); for whenever they pull forth I let go.

E22e

He said this too: I had no joyful (?) thought[1] as long as I had not sought purity from myself and approval from the gods.

E22f

He said this too:[1] Every person should perform with his mind the work of a tanner, a carpenter, a fuller and a blacksmith.

For in the same way as a tanner washes the dust of leather and makes it soft, so every man ought to wash his mind and make it soft.

In the same way as a carpenter makes a block of wood straight[2] and level, so a man ought to draw his mind towards righteousness and maintain it straight.

In the same way as a fuller thrashes[3] a garment and cleans it from filth, so a man ought to thrash his mind from evil character and sinfulness and maintain it clean.

In the same way as a blacksmith inflames the iron and makes it hot, so a man ought to inflame his mind towards virtuous things and maintain it hot.

E23

It has been said: A generous man is one who does not withdraw his property from worthy people. Property which a man should regard as perennial is that which he gives in a worthy manner; so that the remainder of his property is left to the man or the man is left to the remainder of his property.[1]

E24

It has been said: A squanderer is one who gives any thing to wicked people.

E25 guft ēstēd ku mard az hān ī wehān dōšārm ud abāgīh ud ham-pursagīh wirāst-xēm xwāhēd[1] husrawīh abzāyēd ud gāh[2] ī mēnōgīg.

E26 guft ēstēd ku ke abāg wattarān rawēd pad xēm wattar bawēd[1] ud awe-z ke abāg awe kas rawēd[2] ke abāg wattarān rawēd pad xēm wattar bawēd.

E27 gōwēnd ku ruwān az anbūh[1] a'ōn tarsēd ce'ōn tan az wiyābān, pad ēn cim ce andar anbūh frāyist[2] hān ham-*rasišn[3] ī wattarān bawēd, ud anōh ku rasišn ī wattarān ziyān ī pad ruwān was-ēwēnag šāyēd būdan.

E28 gōwēnd ku dastwar-ē guft[1] ku a'ōn ce'ōn padīdīgīh ruwān az harw wināh pāk[2] kunēd a'ōn hunsandīh frāyist druz ī stahmag [*K247r*] az ruwān abāz dārēd.

E29 guft ēstēd ku rād hān burzišnīg-tar ī pad arg ud ranz andar attān[1]-handōzišnīh pattōg xwāhēd ud ō arzānīgān dahēd.

E30a guft ēstēd ku *gilag[1] -ōbār ud wēdwar ud pad kirbag kardan tuxšāg bawišn ud spās az mēnōgān xwāhišn ne az gētīgān. [*B460*] ka ciš hān[2] rasēd ī ruwān dōšārm rāy pad driyōšīh *farrag[3] [*M580*] ēstādan cārag, kāmagīhā pad driyōšīh ul ēstišn[4] ce āsānīh ī tan ud abē-bīmīh ud abē-āmāragīh[5] ī pad ruwān az-eš. ud pad driyōšīh awe[6] ul tawān ēstādan[7] ke hān ī pad dāštan ī tan *andar *abāyēd[8] az hān ī kam mādag-tar rāmišn wēš ku az hān ī wēš mādag-tar, ud ke ne ēdōn awe pad driyōšīh ul ēstādan ne tawān. ud ke ne a-cāragīhā be[9] sūd ī az driyōšīh rāy pad driyōšīh ul ēstēd[10] ēg-eš pad bahr[11] ī xwēš ahreman abāg wišūdagān[12] az gēhān be kard bawēd, ud andar harw gāh az hān ciš ke ērangīh ī [*K247v*] ruwān ud dusrawīh ī tan [pad-eš] būdan ne šāyēd.

E25 [1]B **YXBWN**yt [2]B (w)yxyx
E26 [1]B *bawišn* [2]B om.
E27 [1]spelled 'nbws in DP [2]B *a'ōn tarsēd* [3]DP xm **YXMTWNyt'** (?); K **AMT YXMTWNyt'**; B **AMT SXMTWNyt'**
E28 [1]B om. [2]B om.
E29 [1]B **'t'n'** xwt; K **'tyn'**; DP **'pryn'** (?)
E30a *Partly corresponds to 29, 141. [1]MSS **gl'n**; 29 **glk** [2]K, B om. [3]K, DP **pl**; B plw **ŶK'YMWNyt**; 141 **plg** [4]K, B *ēstēd* [5]DP *abē-āmārīh* [6]B **'L** [7]B + *pad* [8]**andar *abāyēd*: MSS **'ndl'pyt'**; 141 *andar abāyēd* [9]K, DP repeat [10]K, B *ēstād* [11]B **b'l** [12]K **šwtk'n**; B **d'tk'n**

E25

It has been said: As a result of the fact that a man seeks with disciplined character the love, companionship and consultation of good people, good reputation increases, as well as his position in the spiritual world.

E26

It has been said: A man who associates with wicked people becomes wicked in character, and that man too who associates with him who associates with the wicked becomes wicked in character.

E27

They say:[1] The soul fears a crowd as much as the body fears a desert, the reason being that it is mainly in a crowd where the meeting of wicked people occurs, and in a place where wicked people come many kinds of harm may be caused to the soul.

E28

They say:[1] An authority said: Just as repentance cleanses the soul of every sin, so does contentment mainly keep the fierce demon away from the soul.

E29

It has been said: That generous person is most praiseworthy who seeks to become wealthy[1] in the amassing of fortune[2] with toil and labour and who gives it to worthy people.

E30a

It has been said:[1] One should be a person who suppresses complaint,[2] a man of patience, diligent in doing good works, who seeks gratitude from the spirits, not from material beings.

When a thing comes about the remedy of which, for the love of the soul, is to be happy (?) in poverty, one should willingly step into poverty, because the comfort of the body and the security and freedom from Reckoning for the soul occur from it. That man can step into poverty who derives more joy from things of least substance necessary for the preservation of the body than from those of most substance. A man who is not like this cannot step into poverty. A man who steps into poverty not out of constraint but for the sake of the benefit which accrues from it, drives out

E30b xwēš-tan[1] pad rāmišn dārišn ud rāmišn az hān ī frārōn ciš a'ōn pad niwāzišn[2] dārišn ce'ōn hān ī aburnāyag ud a'ōn pad-eš tuxšišn ku tā-š rāmišn hagrez az tan be ne šawād.[3] ud ka rāmišn hān ciš xwāhēd ī ka-š ō kāmag sāzēnd wināh az-eš[4] be šāyēd būdan hān ciš ne be ane[5] ciš-ē ī ka kunihēd rāmišn abzāyēd ud wināh būdan ne šāyēd kunišn, ud pad hēc ēwēnag rāmišn az tan be ne hilišn. ce aburnāyag was ka ciš hān xwāhēd ī ka-š ō kāmag sāzēnd wināh az-eš šāyēd būdan, ka pad gōhrīgīh ī hān ciš ī[6] xwāhēd[7] a'ōn xwārgōn ciš ce'ōn xurmāg-ē ayāb gōz-ē dahēnd hunsand ud pad-rāmišn bawēd. ud dānāgān rāmišn ī a'ōn arzōmand hunsandīh rāy guft ēstēd.

E31a guft ēstēd ku andar pādexšāyīh xešm zan ud andar a-pādexšāyīh [*M581*] bēš, ku-t wahman andar tan gāh kunād, [1] ce ke wahman andar [*K248r*] tan gāh ne kunēd [*B461*] ēg-eš ruwān andar garōdmān gāh ne kunēd.

E31b az āzār ud bēš ī pad kasān kardan dūr-tar pahrēz ku az nasāh ī mardomān, ce ālūdagīh ud rīmanīh ī ō tan rasēd šustan ud pāk kardan·xwār-tar šāyēd ku hān ī ō ruwān rasēd ī be pad padīdīgīh ud puhl ud pazd ī garān ud dušwār ēnyā šustan ud pāk kardan ne šāyēd.

E31c harw rōz 3 bār xwaršēd yazišn[1] ud xwēš-tan be ō yazdān abspārišn ud astīh ud hamēyīgīh[2] ī yazdān ud an-astīh ud absihišnīgīh[3] ī ahreman ud dēwān be gōwišn ku abdom be ō an-astīh ud zadagīh rasēnd.

E30b [1] K, B NŠM-*tan*; DP NŠH-*tan* [2] w'cšn' [3] B *šawēd* [4] B om. [5] K AXR [6] B ZK [7] K om. [8] K, B xwc-1

E31a [1] B *kunēd* (the verb could be read in all instances in this section *gīr-*)

E31c [1] MSS YZBXWNd [2] B *hamēyīg ī* [3] B *absihišnīh*

of the world, for his own part, Ahreman and his misbegotten creatures. There cannot be in him at any moment anything which (leads to) the damnation of the soul and the ill-fame of the body.

E30b

One ought[1] tc keep oneself in joy, and one ought to keep one's joy in righteous things as tenderly as one keeps a child, and to strive so that joy should never depart from the body.

When joy desires something from which harm may ensue if it is done according to its desire, one ought to do not that thing but another thing which, if done, joy increases and no harm may occur. In no manner should joy be allowed to depart from the body. For often a child desires something from which harm may ensue if done according to his desire, and if, in exchange for that which he desires he is given an edible thing like a date or a nut, he becomes content and jcyful.

Of contentment the wise said (that it is) joy which is worthy in this same manner.

E31a

It has been said: (If you are) in authority, smite anger, and (if) without authority, affliction, so that Wahman may take a place in your body. For a man in whose body Wahman does not take a place, does not take a place for his soul in paradise.

E31b

Keep further away[1] from causing harm and affliction to people than from the corpses of men, because it is easier to wash and cleanse the filth and pollution which attaches itself to the body than that which comes to the soul, which it is impossible to wash and cleanse except by repentance, punishment, and heavy and difficult chastisement.

E31c

Worship the sun three times every day and surrender yourself to the gods, and pronounce the existence and the eternity of the gods and the non-existence and the annihilation of Ahreman and the demons, (saying) that they shall ultimately come to non-existnece and to being smitten.

E31d harw wināh ud māndag ī andar rōzgār pēšār būd pad ēn menišn[1] ku did ne kunēm az-eš abaxš ud pad-padīd bawišn.

E31e harw rōz kamist 3 bār xwēš-tan pad-ez ēn be[1] āmārēnišn ku-m im-rōz ce xward ud ce dāšt u-m bōzišn ī ruwān rāy ce kard [*K248v*] ud ce'ōn-em xward ud kard (ayāb ne)[2] ud im-[rōz] yazdān-hayyār būd *hēm[3] ayāb dēw.

E31f ud ka waran ī tan frāz rasēd ud pad burzišn ud nēwagīh ī frēh az paymān sazāgīhā ōštābēd ēg cār ēn weh ka-š frasāwandīh ī tan ud xīr ī gētīg ō padīrag barišn ud ēn andēšišn ku ēdōn hangār ku-m guft ēstēd ud kard ud ō xwēš xwāst ēn burzišn ud nēwagīh, pas-ez ce sūd ka-m hištan ud be šudan abāyēd, ud ka ēdōn ēg [*M582*] frāz ne kunēm ku-m dard ī az be hištan ud šudan aweš ne rasēd.

E31g mardomān ēn 3 ciš dušwār kardan ud *ke[1] kunēd pad-eš ahlaw-tar bawēd.[2]
ēwag hān ī ka-š was-ez tars ud ziyān az mard-ē dīd ēstēd pad-eš ne kēnīg ud hān mard dušman ud anāg-kāmag ne, be dōst [*B462*] ud nēwagīh-kāmag[3] bawēd.
ēwag hān ī ka be ō gyāg-ē rasēd [*K251r*] ku-š[4] xwarišn wēš ku ēwag pihw abāg nēst ud pad-ez wēš aweš madan ēmēd ne dārēd u-š mardom ke xwarišn nēst abar frāz rasēnd cand šāyēd bahr dahēd.
ēwag hān ī ka mard ī juwān abāg zan ī juwān ī hu-dīdag[5] ī ne xwēš pad wiškar gyāg ō āgnēn rasēnd u-šān xwarišn xward ud sēr ud xurram ēstēnd ud ēwag ō did abēr kāmag, pas-ez hān mard ruwān dōšārm rāy abāg hān zan ne xwafsēd ud kāmag ne rāyēnēd.

E31d [1] B m'nšn'
E31e [1] B, DP om. [2] to be omitted [3] MSS XWH'd
E31g [1] MSS AMT [2] K YXWWNt [3] B *nēwagīh* BRA *kāmag* [4] B *ku* [5] B xw'stk'

E31d

A man[1] should be contrite and repentant of every sin and offence committed during his lifetime with the following thought: "I shall not do this again".

E31e

At least three times a day[1] one should reckon with oneself in the following manner: "What have I eaten today, what have I possessed? What have I done for the salvation of the soul? In what manner have I eaten and acted? Have I been today an assistant of the gods or of the demons?"

E31f

When bodily craving comes forth, and a man is aroused by good and coveted things in excess of the appropriate measure, this is the best remedy: he ought to put in front of himself the transience of the body and of material things and to think the following: "Imagine that I have said and done and sought for myself these good and coveted things; what is the benefit, later, when it is necessary to abandon them and depart? As it is so, I shall no longer do it, so that the pain of abandoning them and departing should not affect me".

E31g

These three things[1] are (most) difficult for people to do; whoever does them becomes more righteous through them.

One is when he has seen much fear and harm from a certain man and is not vengeful with regard to him and is not an enemy and an ill-wisher to him, but a friend and a wisher of good.

One is when he comes to a place where he does not have with him more food than for one meal, and no hope for getting more, and people who have no food come to him, and he gives them as big a share of it as is possible.

One is when a young man comes together with a young and good-lcoking[2] woman who is not his wife in an uninhabited place, and they have eaten and are full and merry and have great desire for each other, and yet, for the love of the soul, that man does not sleep with the woman and does not fulfil his desire.

E32 guft ēstēd ku[1] pad hān ī pad zīndagīh andar abāyēd tuxšāgīh, ud pad hān ī pad ruwān andar xwēš-kārīh, ud pad hān ī pad be widīrišnīh andar weh-kerdārīh sūdōmand-tar. ud pad zīndagīh drustīh ud padēxwīh ud āsānīh ud abē-bīmīh ud rāmišn, ud pad ruwān tuxšāgīh ī pad kirbag ud pahrēz ī az wināh, ud pad be widīrišnīh nām ud husrawīh abāyišnīg. ēn and ciš hān weh ī az ēn[2] and ciš[3] bawēd drustīh az paymān ud padēxwīh [*K251v*] az *āfrīn (?)[4] ud rāmišn az frārōnīh ud āsānīh az hunsandīh ud abē-bīmīh az a-wināhīh ud tuxšāgīh ī pad kirbag ud az-wināh-pahrēxtan az [*M583*] šnāsīh[5] ud nām ud husrawīh ī wuzurg az kunišn ī[6] nēwag.

E33 guft ēstēd ku pad mardomān 3 ciš ēn hu-cihr-tar. burdīh ī ne az nidagīh (?)[1], ud rādīh ī ne pādāšn, ud tuxšišn[2] ī ne az mizd ī gētīg rāy.

E34a guft ēstēd ku (spāsdārīh ud)[1] pāsdārīh ēd bawēd ke ēn tan diz mānāg be kunēd,[2] u-š pās abar frāz kunēd, u-š yazd andar dārēd ud dēw andar aweš ne hilēd.

E34b ke mardomīh ast ēg-eš az [*B463*] pas ī awe abāyēd būdan[1] ke-š bōzišn ī ruwān nimāyēd.[2]

E34c (pad) ast hangām ka xwēš-tan karr ud kōr ud gung humānāg be kunišn. ce kōrīh weh ce'ōn hān ciš nigerīd ud ārzōg pad-eš būd ī ō ruwān wizand. ud karrīh weh ce'ōn hān ciš ašnūd ī āmār ud pursišn ī pad ruwān az-eš šāyēd būdan. ud gungīh [*K252r*] weh ce'ōn hān ciš guft ke[1] abdom pad-eš ēraxtag ud a-bōzišnīg bawēd.

E35a guft ēstēd ku ke husrawīh az dusrawīh, ud passand ī wehān az wattarān, ud stāyišn az nigōhišn, ud dōšārm ī ruwān az hān ī tan, ud ēmēd ī mēnōg az hān ī gētīg ne[1] weh sahēd ud pad ō xwēš kardan ne tuxšēd hān ī pad hān ēwēnag ana-zād weh, ce awe[2] ke pad cim ke rāy dād ēstēd ne tuxšēd nēst ciš ī ka-š abar rasēd weh ku nihang zīwišnīh.

E32 [1]K repeats [2]*az ēn*: K **MND'M** [3]B om. [4]K, DP 'tyn'; B 'tyn' **W l'm** [5]DP *šnāsagīh* (?) [6]B + **dyn'**
E33 [1]spelled **ntkyx** (could be read *wadagīh*) [2]B *tuxšāg*
E34a [1]seems to have been wrongly written in a prototype MS for the following *pāsdārīh*. [2]B *kardan*
E34b [1]B *bawēd* [2]B **m'dyt**
E35a [1]B l'd [2]B L

E32

It has been siad: In what is necessary for living, diligence is most beneficial. In what is necessary for the soul, fulfilment of duty is most beneficial. In what is necessary for departing, good activity is most beneficial.

For living, health, prosperity, comfort, security and joy are most seemly; for the soul, diligence in doing good works and in avoidance of sins is most seemly; and for departing, fame and good reputation are most seemly.

These several things are best which derive from these several things: Health from the right measure; prosperity from blessing (?);[1] joy from righteousness; comfort from contentment; security from lack of sins; diligence in performing good works and in avoiding sins from knowledge; great fame and good reputation from good action.

E33

It has been said: These three things are fairest in men: Patience which does not derive from lowliness (?);[1] generosity which is not by way of recompense; and effort which is not for the sake of material reward.

E34a

It has been said: Being on one's watch is this, one who makes his body like a fortress, and who places watch over it, keeping the gods inside and not letting the demons enter.

E34b

He who has humanity should follow a man who shows him the salvation of the soul.

E34c

There is a time when one ought to make oneself deaf-like, blind-like, or mute-like. For blindness is best when he sees and covets a thing which is harmful to the soul; and deafness is best when he hears a thing from which there may come about the reckoning and the interrogation of the soul; and muteness is best when he says a thing through which he will ultimately become damned and doomed.

E35a

It has been said: A man to whom reputation does not seem better than ill-fame, the approval of good people better than that of evil people, praise

E35b mardomān xwēš-tan ne cagād be gabr be kunišn, ce gabr harw āb ī abar wār [*M584*] ēd pad-eš[1] be ēstēd ud hān-ez ī pad cagād wārēd nišēb[2] aweš bawēd, hān ī ō cagād-ez wārēd pad-eš be ne ēstēd ud hān-ez ī abārīg gyāg wārēd aweš ne rasēd. ud gabr ēd bawēd ēr-menišnīh ud weh-dōstīh, nēwagīh awe ī did abāyēd ud pad-eš šād *būdan[3] [*K252v*] ud pad xwēš-tan dāštan. ud cagād ēd bawēd abar-menišnīh ud weh-dušmanīh ud nēwagīh awe[4] ī did ne abāyēd, pad-eš bešt būdan ud pad xwēš ne dāštan.

E35c kas pad kas hān turš[1] kardan ne tawān ēdōn ce'ōn weh-dušman mardom pad xwēš-tan kunēd, ce hamē[2] ka frāzīh ud wehīh ud abzōn ī pad nēwagīh ī wehān wēnēd bešt ud turšōmand bawēd. ud āzādīh ī yazdān rāy frāzīh ud wehīh ud abzōn nēwagīh ī wehān andar gēhān hamē ast.

E36 guft ēstēd ku abar-tom dānišn hān bawēd ī ō ciš ayābēd, ud ayābišn-ē hān weh ke hān ī ne [*B464*] dānēd dānēd ku ne dānēm.

E37 guft ēstēd ku duš-āgāh ka ne hu-niyōšīdār ne hamāg-abzār.

E38a guft ēstēd ku pad mardomān ciš ī abēr nēwag dēn ud xēm ud xrad ud hunar ud xwarr.
xēm abzār hōg ī frārōn ud abāg wehān raftan, wehīh [*K250r*] az-eš griftan ud wattarīh ī pad [xwēš-tan] wēnēd az tan ī xwēš be kardan.
xrad abzār tarsagāhīh ī andar yazdān ud dārišn ī nēwagīh pad wehān.
hunar abzār [xwēš-kārīh ud tuxšāgīh.
xwarr abzār][1] rāstīh ud hu-mihrīh.
ud dēn abzār ēd āstawānīh. āstawānīh[2] ēd bawēd[3] ku dōst ī hu-xēm ī pāk ī [*M585*] weh-mard pad tan ī xwēš pādexšāy kunēd ud gōwēd ku āhōg ce dānēh gōw tā wirāyēm, ud ka-š gōwēd niyōšēd ud framān-burdār bawēd.

E35b [1] B repeats [2] B šyyp' [3] MSS *bawēd* [4] B 'L
E35c [1] spelled tlš [2] B om.
E38a [1] cf. 115 [2] B om. [3] K om.

better than scorn, the love of the soul better than that of the body, the hope of the spiritual world better than that of the material world, and who does not strive to make them his own — a man who is in that manner is better unborn; because a man who does not strive to fulfil the aim for which he was created, there is nothing, when it comes to him, which is better than short life.

E35b

People[1] should make themselves not mountain-tops, but cavities. For in the cavity all the rain that falls upon it is preserved, and that, too, which falls on the mountain top comes to it (by) a slope; while the water which falls on the mountain-top does not stay there, and that which falls on other places does not come to it.

Cavity is this: humility, friendship of good people, (the view that) good things are necessary to other people, to be joyful by that, to hold them as one's own.

E35c

A person is incapable of doing to another person so much sourness as an enemy of good people does to himself, for he is afflicted and sour every time he sees the furtherance, goodness and increase in the good things of good people. Because of the favour of the gods, the furtherance, goodness and increase in good things of good people is constantly in the world.

E36

It has been said:[1] The highest knowledge is that which apprehends a thing. That apprehension is best: a man who, of that which he does not know, knows: "I do not know".

E37

It has been said: When an ignorant person is not a good listener, he is not in possession of all faculties.[1]

E38a

It has been said:[1] The things which are very good for men are religion, character, wisdom, virtue and fortune.

The instrument of character is righteous habit, associating with good peo-

E38b ēwagānagīh ēn weh[1] āškāragīh ī pad menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn.

E38c ruwān pad ēn and ciš abēr-tar šāyēd buxtan: pad spāsdārīh ud hunsandīh ud nihādagīh.[1]

E38d yazdān tarsagāh bawišn ku ka škeftīh mad ēstēd az-eš bōzēnd ud ka ne mad ēstēd aweš kam rasēd. yazdān ēd rāy hamē bawēnd ce ēwag awe ī did sūdēnēnd[1], ud dēw ēd rāy wanē bawēnd ce ēwag awe ī did frēbēnd. gannāg-mēnōg nazdist *xwad[1] frēft ud pas dāmān ī xwēš, ce-š hān ī menīd ud kard ud hamē kunēd hān-eš frazām ī[3] xwēš ud dāmān [*K250v*] wanē-būdagīh[4] az-eš bawēd. mardom harw hān ī kunēd ka ne ruwān abzāyēd ayāb ruwān ne kāhēd hamāg āhangišn (?)-cīšīh.

E38e awēšān ke srōš-ahlāy[1] stī (?)[2] hēnd ke pad framān ī ohrmazd rawēnd ud pad ērān šahr xwadāy hēnd. pad framān ī ohrmazd hān ēstād[3] bawēd ke pad dastwarīh āgāhīh ī pad[4] mānθr-spand menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd. srōš-ahlāy rāy az [*B465*] abastāg[5] gyāg-ē paydāg ku-š stī (?) ēn ham-barišnīh ī kārān ud ham-paygārišnīh ī[6] sūdōmandān. ēn pad xwadāyān šāyēd, ce ērbadān ud xwāristān kārezār ī abāg an-ērān ud abārīg-ez warzišn ī meh jud az xwadāyān ne bawēd. ēd rāy xwadāy ī [*M586*] nēwag srōš-ahlāy stī (?) ast u-š framān-burdārīh[7] ī srōš-ahlāy framān-kerdārīh bawēd.

E38b [1] *ēn weh*: B om.

E38c [1] B W 'štkyx

E38d [1] B swt XWH'd (or *sūdōmand*) [2] MSS NPŠH [3] *frazām ī*: B om. [4] B AWBN bwtynyx

E38e [1] spelled 'slwš'xl'y [2] spelled st' (= *gētīg*?), here and in the following case in this section. [3] MSS *ēstēd* [4] K om. [5] B om. [6] B + *xrad* [7] B *framān-burdār*

ple, learning good things from them and putting out of oneself any evil which one sees in [oneself].

The instrument of wisdom is reverence towards the gods and maintaining goodness towards good people.

The instrument of virtue is [doing one's duty and diligence.

The instrument of fortune is] truth and keeping one's word.

The instrument of religion is confession of faith.[2] Confession of faith is one who makes a friend of good character, who is pure and a good man, a master over himself, and says (to him): "Tell me the faults that you know, so that I may correct them." When that man speaks to him, he listens and obeys.

E38b

This obedience is best:[1] openness in thought, speech and action.

E38c

It is possible[1] to save the soul best by these several things: by gratitude, contentment and tenderness.

E38d

It is necessary to have reverence for the gods, so that if a calamity has come, they will save (the man) from it, and if it has not come, less may come to him. The reason why the gods are eternal is that they benefit each other, and the reason why the demons will be destroyed is that they deceive each other. The Evil Spirit first deceived himself, and then his creatures, because from what he thought, did and is doing his own end and the destruction of his creatures will come about. Whatever a man is doing, if it does not increase the soul, or does not diminish it, all of it is a matter of inclination (?).[1]

E38e

Those[1] who have the entity (?) of Srōš-Ahlāy are those who live by the command of Ohrmazd and who are lords over the kingdom of Iran. That man has been established in the command of Ohrmazd who thinks, speaks and acts with authority the knowledge which is found in the sacred word. It is manifest in a passage of the Avesta concerning Srōš-Ahlāy that his entity (?) is this: The gathering of troops and the joint battle of the benefic-

E38f wehān pad yazdān wistāxw[1] abāyēd būdan ku tā-šān az dēwān ud wattarān abē-wizand, ud ka juttar kam wizand dārēnd, ud ka-z dēwān stahmag bawēnd ud wišōbišn abar barēnd [*K253r*] pad abāz ārāstan abar tuxšēnd cē[2]-šān ciš ī xwēš ast ud ēdōn pāyēnd ce'ōn mard xwēš kadag.

E39 guft ēstēd ku harw kas hān wēnēd ī ōh nigerēd ud hān ašnawēd ī ō niyōšēd ud hān windēd ī ōh xwāhēd. hān ī mēnōg nigerišn ka-š gētīg-kārīh andar[1] dast be gyāg gyāg ēwag-ē ēnyā-š[2] mēnōg abē-kār.

E40 guft ēstēd ku ahreman ham-bandišn az xwad-dōšagīh ud a-niyōšī-dārīh, u-š tan ud jān[1] az duš-āgāhīh, ud rasišn ō xešmenān, ud padēxwīh az rīmanīh, ud ēmēd az an-āštīh ud a-burd-framānīh.[2]

E41 guft ēstēd ku āzwarīh bar niyāzōmandīh, ud *waranīgīh[1] bar paš-ēmānīh, ud xwad-dōšagīh bar wiyābānīh, ud tar-menišnīh bar an-āštīh, ud an-āštīh bar wanē-būdagīh.

E42 guft ēstēd ku[1] dānāg hān[2] dušman ī dānēd[3] ku dōst kardan ne tawān pad ēn ne tuxšišn[4] ku tā-š ziyān ī man ne abāyēd, be pad ēn abēr-tar tuxšišn ku-š pad man ziyān kardan ma tawān bawād.[5]

E38f [1]B st'xw [2]B QDM
E39 [1]K, B om. [2]B *ēnyā*
E40 [1]B + **mynyx** [2]K, B + *guft ēstēd*
E41 [1]spelled **wlykyx**
E42 [1]DP + *mard* [2]*dānāg hān*: B, (DP?) *hān dānāg* [3]B *dānist* [4]B *tuxšāg* [5]K, B *bawēd*

ial ones (?). This is possible (to accomplish) by lords, for it is impossible to priests and people of low classes to wage battle against un-Iranian lands and (to do) other great deeds without lords. For this reason a good lord has the entity (?) of Srōš-Ahlāy and to him obedience to Srōš-Ahlāy becomes the act of being a commander (?).[2]

E38f

Good people should have trust in the gods to the effect that they shall not be harmed by demons and evil people, or if they are, that they shall suffer less harm. Even when the demons are fierce and bring destruction upon them, (the gods) will strive to restore them, because they are the (gods') own thing, and (the gods) will defend them as a man defends his own house.

E39

It has been said: A person sees that which he contemplates, and hears that which he listens to, and finds that which he seeks. A man who contemplates the spiritual world when the work of the material world is in his hands, his spirit is ineffective, with the exception of one (man) in one or two places.

E40

It has been said: The composition (?) of Ahreman is from self-love and lack of obedience; his body and vital soul is from ignorance; his association is with wrathful creatures; his prosperity is from impurity; his hope is from lack of peace and disobedience.

E41

It has been said: The fruit of greed is want, the fruit of craving is regret, the fruit of self-love is delusion, the fruit of arrogance is lack of peace, the fruit of lack of peace is destruction.

E42

It has been said: A wise man does not strive in the following manner with regard to an enemy whom he knows that it is impossible to make into a friend: "May it not be necessary to him (to cause) me harm". He should rather strive in the following manner: "May he not be able to do me harm".

E43a guft ēstēd [*B466*] ku [*K253v*] wistāxw bandag ī xwadāy bawandag (?)[1] dušman ī xwadāy bawēd, ēd rāy ce [az] wistāxwīh wastārīh, ud az wastārīh[2] wastār-kunišnīh, ud az wastār-kunišnīh[3] was [*M587*] riftagīh,[4] ud az was riftagīh[5] ī bandagān[6] āzārišn ud xešm ī xwadāyān ud sārārān az-eš[7] uzihēd, ud āzārišn ud xešm ī xwadāyān pazd ud pādefrāh ī bandagān[8] ud ast ka wanē-būdagīh-ez az-eš bawēd.

E43b hān ī pahlom hunar ud abzār ī pad parastišn ud nazdīk-mānīh ī xwadāyān ud sārārān andar abāyēd ēwagānag-menišnīh ud rāz nihuftārīh, ce rāz ī sārārān xwēšīhā-tar[1] sazēd dāštan ku wīmārīh[2] ud āhōg ī nihānīg, ce wīmārīh ud āhōg ī nihānīg[3] ka-z ō tan wizāyēd ō ruwān ne wizāyēd, ud rāz ī sārārān xūb ne dāštan ō ruwān wizand ī garān, ast ī ka wanē-būdagīh ī tan az-eš pad-eš wināhgār bawēd.

E43c hān ke ō xwadāyān ud sārārān ne dōst ud andar ne ēwagānag ayāb xwadāyān ud sārārān pad-eš āzard ēstēnd[1] az-eš dūr ud pad hēc ēwēnag abāg ne rawišn, ud aweš [*K254r*] ne rasišn. ce ka juttar sārārān pad frōdmānd ī garān dārēnd, ud gumānīgīh ī ērmānīh ō menišn nišīnēd ud ziyān ī garān az-eš madan šāyēd.

E43d windišn ī az sārārān ne andar zamān be pad rōzgār, ud ne pad xwāstan be pad arzānīgīh ēmēdēnišn.

E43e ēr-menišnīh ud carb[1]-ēwāzīh ud ōstwārīh ud frahangīgīh ud wirāstxēmīh ud pahrēxtagīh ī az āhōg ud hu-sāzagīh ī abāg mardomān ud sāxtārīh ī ō hān ī sārārān menišn ud sahišn frārōn mard ō wuzurg gāh ud burzišn ī abrāz paywandēd.

E43a [1]K **bndk**; B **bwndk** (both here and in the preceding occurrence) [2]*az wastārīh*: B om. [3]*az wastār-kunišnīh*: K om. [4]K **lypkyx** [5]K **lypkyx** [6]B **bdk'n** [7]K + *bawēd* [8]K **bdk'n**

E43b [1]K **dxwyšyx'tl** [2]B **w'm'lyx** [3]*ce wīmārīh ud āhōg ī nihānīg*: K, B om.

E43c [1]B *ēstēd*

E43e [1]K, B **wcylyt**

E43a

It has been said: A self-confident slave of a lord becomes a perfect (?) enemy of the lord. The reason for this is that [from] self-confidence there comes about wilfulness, from wilfulness there comes about wilful activity (?), from wilful activity much deception, from much deception of slaves there ensues causing vexation and wrath to lords and chiefs. The vexation and wrath of lords are chastisement and punishment for the slaves; even destruction sometimes derives from it.

E43b

The best virtue and faculty which is necessary for the service and attendance of lords and chiefs is obedience[1] and the hiding of (their) secrets. It is suitable to keep the secrets of chiefs more to oneself than a hidden illness or defect, because even if a hidden illness or defect attacks the body it does not attack the soul, while not keeping the secret of chiefs well constitutes grievous damage to the soul; sometimes there ensues therefrom the destruction of the body and one becomes a sinner by it.

E43c

A man who is not friendly to lords and chiefs and who is not obedient to them, or by whom the lords and chiefs have been offended, keep away from him and do not associate with him or visit him in any manner. For otherwise the chiefs will treat (you) with great negligence,[1] and will have doubts as to (your) humility, and there may ensue from this grievous harm.

E43d

One ought to entertain a hope for a favour from the chiefs not at once but in (the course of) time, and not by asking but by merit.

E43e

Humility, soft speech, reliability, being educated, having disciplined character, avoidance of faults, cooperation (?) with people, being in accord with the thought and approval[1] of chiefs – (all of these) cause a righteous man to attain great position and high honour.

E44 guft ēstēd ku dānišn-ē hān [*B467*] weh ka hān ī dānēd [*M588*] purr-bōzišnīhā dānēd, ud pad hān ī dānēd nimāyišn ne kunēd, ud pad hān ī ne dānēd stēzag ne barēd.

E45a guft ēstēd ku ast saxwan ke a-passaxwīh passox ud ast kār ke a-kerdārīh pērōzīh.

E45b pōryōtkēšān ēn 5 ciš ī xēm cāšīd u-šān ērbadestān nēwag abar kard: [*K254v*] xwēš-tan pad dād[1] dāštan ud awe ī did pad dēn; pad xwēš-tan *duškār[2] būdan ud pad awe ī did hugār; āhōg bērōn dāštan ud waxšīh (?)[3] andarōn; āhōg ī xwēš dīdan ud waxšīh (?)[4] ī awe ī did; pad kār ud dādestān ī frāz mad bār ō xwēš kardan ud nīrmad[5] ō awe[6] ī did.

E45c* ke hamāg abastāg abāg zand warm ud ēn 5 nīrang ne dānēd pad-ez hutuxšīh ne šāyēd hištan pad āhrōnān[1] gāh nišastan ud framān dādan: ulīh ud frōdīh ī xīr, ud pēšīh ud pasīh ī ciš, mehīh ud kehīh ī kār, rāh ud widarg ī dranz, cārag ud a-cārag ī driyōšīh.[2]
ulīh mēnōg nigerišnīh, frōdīh gētīg nigerišnīh. pēšīh[3] xēm wirāstan, pasīh xrad pursīdan. mehīh dēn hanbārīh,[4] kehīh kirbakkarīh. rāh ham-pursagīh, widard niyōšīdārīh. cār tuxšāgīh ud paymānīgīh, a-cār hunsandīh ud bawandag-menišnīh.

E45d ke 10 ciš [*K255r*] ne pad āgnēn be pad judāgīh[1] uskārēd ne pōryōtkēš[2] be ahlamōg bawēd: mēnōg ud gētīg, tan ud ruwān, āsn-xrad ud gōšōsrūd-xrad, kunišn ud bagōbaxt, dēn ud mānθr.

E45b [1]B om. [2]spelled **dwšd'l** [3]B **w'syx** [4]B **w'syx**; DP **wyxyx** [5]K, B repeat [6]B om.

E45c *A NPers. version is in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 488. 4 ff.; trsl. Dhabhar, 334. [1]B *āhrōn* [2]*cārag ud a-cārag ī driyōšīh*: B om. [3]B *pēš ī* [4]DP **xnblyx**

E45d [1]*pad judāgīh*: B **'pyt'kyx** [2]B *pōryōtkēšīh*

E44

It has been said: This one knowledge is best: When what a man knows he knows in a manner full of salvation, and does not display that which he knows, and does not quarrel over something that he does not know.

E45a

It has been said: There are words to which lack of answer is the answer, and there are actions in which inaction is victory.

E45b

The ancient sages taught these five things concerning character and they studied[1] them well: To maintain oneself according to the law and to treat another person according to religion; to be hard on oneself and to be beneficent. to another person; to keep one's faults outside and one's advantage (?)[2] inside; to see the fault of oneself and the advantage (?) of the other person; in any matter that comes forth, to make the burden one's own and the benefit another person's.

E45c

A man who has memorized the whole Avesta with Zand and does not know these five ritual formulae even with labour (?), should not be allowed to sit in the place of priests and to issue orders: "upwardness" and "downwardness" of an object; "beforeness" and "afterwardness" of a thing: "greatness" and "smallness" of a work: "way" and "passage" of a speech; "escape" and "inevitability" of poverty.

"Upwardnesss" is the consideration of the spiritual world; "downwardness" is the consideration of the material world. "Beforeness" is disciplining one's character; "afterwardness" is inquiring with wisdom. "Greatness" is storing up the religion; "smallness" is doing good deeds. "The way" is consultation; "the passage" is listening. "Escape" is striving and acting according to the measure; "inevitability" is contentment and humility.

E45d

A man who considers[1] (the following) ten things not together but separately is not a follower of the ancient faith but a heretic: the spiritual world and the material world; the body and the soul; innate wisdom and acquired wisdom; action and fate; religion and the sacred word.

E45e hamāg gētīg arg, hamāg dām ham-arg hēnd. be ke pad ēd dārēd ku agar az ēn [*M589*] mardom ī pad gētīg ēwag-ē kam man arg ī xwēš burdan ne[1] tawān ēnyā-š mardom-dōst būdan ne tawān.[2] xēm mardom-dōstīh ud bar ī xēm mardom-dōstīh. ud mardom-dōstīh a-wināhīh, ce ēn ne šāyēd *būdan[3] ku kardan ī mard-ē rāy druz andar gēhān wināh kunēd ud hān mard mardom-dōst.

E45f spāsdārīh[1] yazdān šnāxtan, ud yazdān šnāxtan[2] framān-burdārīh ī yazdān, ud framān-burdārīh ī yazdān a-wināhīh, [*B468*] ud a-wināhīh az druz jud būdan, ud az druz jud būdan buxtagīh ī ruwān.

E45g dēn bun hangerdīg ēn ku bun ohrmazd ud harw nēwagīh az awe. šnāsag awe ke hamē [*K255v*] pad šnāyišn, ud awe hamē pad šnāyišn ī hamē[1] pad huš, ud [awe] hamē pad huš ke harw ce menēd ud gōwēd ud kunēd az yazdān be.

E45h mardomān ēn and ciš ī abēr pahlom ēn-ez ēdōn: mardom-dōstīh ud āšt-xwāhīh ud rāstīh ud xwēšāwand-dārīh ud ēr-menišnīh ud bawandag-menišnīh ud rādīh ud spāsdārīh ud ham-pursagīh ud paymānīgīh.
dād ī ohrmazd mardom-dōstīh;
ud dād ī wahman āšt-xwāhīh;
ud dād ī ardwahišt rāstīh;
ud dād ī šahrewar xwēšāwand-dārīh;
ud dād ī spandarmad ēr-menišnīh ud bawandag-menišnīh;
ud dād ī xurdad rādīh ud spāsdārīh;
ud dād ī amurdad ham-pursagīh ud paymānīgīh.

E45e [1]K repeats [2]*ēnyā-š. . .ne tawān*: B om. [3]MSS *bawēd*; B om. from here to **E45f**, note 1.
E45f [1]cf. note 3 to E45e [2]*yazdān šnāxtan*: K om.
E45g [1]*pad šnāyišn ī hamē*: B om.
E45h *cf. **114**

E45e

The whole of this world is labour, and all the creatures are companions in labour. A man cannot love people except when he holds the following views: "If there is one person less of the people in the world, I shall not be able to endure my labour".

Character is love of people, and the fruit of character is love of people. The love of people is freedom from sin; for it is impossible (to imagine) that the demons should cause harm in the world owing to the action of a certain man, and that the man should be a lover of people.

E45f

Gratitude is to know the gods; knowing the gods is obedience to the gods; obedience to the gods is freedom from sin; freedom from sin is being separated from the demons; to be separated from the demons is the salvation of the soul.

E45g

The root of religion, in summary, is this: The root is Ohrmazd and all goodness is from him. A cognizant person is one who is always satisfied. That man is always satisfied who is always aware. That man is always aware whose thoughts, speech and actions are all from the gods.

E45h

People[1] have these several things which are best to the utmost. These are: love of people, desire for peace, truth, maintaining one's kinsmen, humility, reverence, generosity, gratitude, consultation, moderation.

The law of Ohrmaz is love of people.
The law of Wahman is desire for peace.
The law of Ardawahišt is truth.
The law of Šahrewar is maintaining one's kinsmen.
The law of Spandarmad is humility and reverence.
The law of Xurdad is generosity and gratitude.
The law of Amurdad is consultation and moderation.

E45i hamāg ēn dām abzāyišn ud *waxšišn (?)[1] az awe ke hamēšag pad šnāyišn be ka-š bēšēnēnd. ud hamāg ēn dām ud dahišn kāhišn ud narfsišn az awe ke hamēšag pad bōš be ka-š šnāyēnd.

E45j* [*K256r*] abzār 2 ēn weh xwad weh būdan ud awe ī did weh[1] kardan.

E45k* harw kas ēn 4 kardan xwēš-kārīh: fraškerd ud dām-dahišnīh ud rist-āxēz ud tan ī pasēn.
fraškerd [*M590*] ēd bawēd ke az druz jud bawēd. dām-dahišnīh ēd bawēd ke ēn ciš[1] menišn ud gōwišn ud kunišn weh be kunēd. rist-āxēz ēd bawēd ke hān ī az-eš[2] appurd[3] ēstēd abāz dānēd āwurdan. ud tan ī pasēn ēd bawēd ke abāz ō anōh dānēd šudan ku be āmad.

E45l* ke[1] hamēšag az[2] ēn 5 ciš ēwag ne hamē nigerēd truft ēstēd ud huš ud xrad az-eš appurd ēstēd. ristag ud* ēwēn (?)[3] ī yazdān ku tā spāsdār bawād;[4] wehīh ī wehān ku tā abar āmuxtād;[5] āhōg ī xwēš ku tā [*B469*] be wirāyād; wāzag ī pōryōtkēšān ku tā ruwān pad-eš bōzād;[6] āhrōnīh ud ardēštārīh ud wāstryōšīh [*K256v*] ud hutuxšīh[7] ku tā nān pad-eš xwāhād.[8]

E45m az ēn 3 ciš ma mōšēd, az yazišn ī yazdān, myazd ud anjaman. ke ne dānēd šudan ne šudan weh ku šudan.[1]
ke andar ō yazišn ī yazdān šawēd pad mēnōg-warrawišnīh andar šawišn[2] ud frārōn nīrangīh abāg dārišn ud ahlāyīh abāg be[3] āwarišn.
ke ō myazd ī wehān šawēd pad[4] ēr-menišnīh andar šawišn ud hunsandīh abāg dārišn[5] ud šnāyišn abāg be āwarišn.
ke ō anjaman šawēd[6] pad mardom-dōstīh andar šawišn[7] ud rāst[8]-gōwišnīh abāg dārišn ud āštīh abāg be āwarišn.

E45i [1]MSS **nyg'dšn**'
E45j *A NPers. version is in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 488.18; trsl. Dhabhar, 335. [1]K om.
E45k *A NPers. version is in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 488.18 ff.; trsl. Dhabhar, 335. [1]K om. [2]B om. [3]PersRiv *āzurda*
E45l *NPers. version (partly written in Pāzand) in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, I, 486; trsl. Dhabhar, 331. [1]K, B *ka* [2]B om. [3]MSS 'pdyx (= *abdīh*); Hormazyar *avidi awazūnī* [4]K, B *bawēd* [5]K 'ymwxtyt; B 'ymwxynyt [6]B bwcyxyt [7]B + ī *ku tā ruwān* [8]B *xwāhēd*; Hormazyar *piδā kunāt*
E45m [1]B *šawēd* [2]B **'ZLWNT'** [3]B om. [4]B + 'l [5]B *be āwarišn* [6]B *šawišn* [7]K, B *šawēd* [8]K, B *rāstīh*

E45i

The increase and growth (?)[1] of the whole of this creation is from a man who is always satisfied except when he is offended.[2] The decrease and waning of the whole of this creation is from a man who is always offended except when he is satisfied.

E45j

These two powers are best: to be oneself good and to do good (to) another person.[1]

E45k

It is the duty of every person to do these four things: the Renovation, the Creation of the Creatures, the Resurrection, the Future Body.

The Renovation is this: A man who separates himself from the demons.

The Creation of the Creatures is this: a man who does well these things, (namely), thought, speech, and action.

The Resurrection is this: a man who knows how to retrieve that which has been taken from him by force.

The Future Body is this: a man who knows how to return to that place from which he came.[1]

E45l

A man who does not regard (even) one of these five things constantly has been robbed and has had consciousness and wisdom taken away from him: the path and the manner (?)[1] of the gods, so that he may be grateful; the goodness of the good, so that he may learn (therefrom); his own faults, so that he may correct them; the words of the ancient sages so that his soul may be saved by them; and the work of a priest, a warrior, a husbandman or an artisan, so that he may seek bread by it.

E45m

Do not turn away[1] from these three things, from the worship of the gods, *myazd*, and the assembly. A man who does not know how to go (to them), it is better for him not to go than to go.

He who goes to worship the gods should go with faith in the spiritual world, should hold with him righteous ritual formulae and should bring with him righteousness.

E45n pursīd ku wehīh weh ayāb abzār. guft[1] hēd ka abzār wehīh rāy andar abāyēd sazēd dānistan ku wuzurg-abzār bawēd ke wehīh ō xwēš kard ēstēd.

E45n [1] B + yk

He who goes to the *myazd* ceremony of good people should go with humility, should hold with him contentment and should bring with him satisfaction.

He who goes to the assembly should go with love of people, should hold with him truthful speech, and should bring with him peace.

E45n

(The following question) was asked: "Is goodness better or (mental) powers?" (The following) was said (in reply): "Since (mental) powers are necessary for goodness, one ought to know that a man who has made goodness his own is a man who possesses great (mental) powers.

Commentary

Op. Sec. a. *1.* The formula *šnāyišn ī dādār-ohrmazd* etc. recurs also in nearly the same form at the beginning of Book VII of *Dk*. A similar formula can be found at the beginning of Book IV: *niyāyišn ī dēn ī mazdēsn ī jud-dēw ī ohrmazd-dādestān* (*DkM* 409.1; *Dk* B 318). "Praise of the Mazdean Religion, which is separate from the demons, which follows the law of Ohrmazd".
Similarly, for Book VIII we have the following opening formula: *spās ī ohrmazd ud niyāyišn ī dēn ī mazdēsn ī jud-dēw ī ohrmazd-dādestān* (*DkM* 677.1; *Dk* B 526). "Gratitude to Ohrmazd and praise of the Mazdean Religion, which is separate from the demons, which follows the law of Ohrmazd".
Book IX begins with: *šnōhr ī dādār-ohrmazd ud niyāyišn ī dēn ī mazdēsn* (*DkM* 787.1). "Gratitude to the Creator Ohrmazd and praise to the Mazdean Religion".
The opening formula of Book V is somewhat different in structure. It should read, in my opinion, as follows:[1] *pērōzgarīh ī dādār-ohrmazd xwarr ī wispdānāgīh xānīg ī dēn ī mazdēsn* (*Dkm* 433. 1-2; *Dk* B 338.1). "Victory to the *xwarr* of the Creator Ohrmazd,[2] which is the source[3] of omniscience of the Mazdean Religion".
It thus becomes evident that formulae of blessing at the beginning of the books of the *Dēnkard* contain phrases such as "propitiation to", "praise to", "victory to", and not invocations such as "by the name of".[4] In view of this observation, it does not seem likely that the reading and translation of the beginning of *Dk* VII by Molé and others, and of *Dk* VI by most scholars, is correct.[5] The text in *Dk* VII should read, I believe: *šnāyišn ī dādār-ohrmazd *frāz*[6] *āfrīgānīh ī wispāgāhīh-pēsīd dēn ī mazdēsn andar gēhān* (*DkM* 591.1 f.; B 469). "Propitiation to the Creator Ohrmazd and blessing in the world to the Mazdean Religion, adorned with omniscience".

[1] Compare the latest reading and translation by Molé, *Légende*, 106 f. Previously West, *SBE* XLVII, p. 119.

[2] Compare the formula of blessing at the end of the Phl version of *Yt* 14: *pērōz bawād xwarr ī abēzag weh-dēn i mazdēsnān* (*ZXA*, 141.6) "May the *xwarr* of the pure Good Religion of the Mazdaeans be victorious".

[3] *xānīg* is used in a similar sense in section 314 of *Dk* VI. The word has been read *axvīk* and translated "essence" by Molé, loc. cit. This reading cannot be supported by parallels, as far as I know, and the sense does not follow naturally from *axw* "existence". *axvīkīh* is B.N. Dhabhar's reading of هیخویه which renders Av. *aiwyāvaŋha* in Y LV 3. Both the Av. word and its Phl. tr. are of doubtful meaning, and it is just possible that the Phl. is a corrupt transcription of the Av. word. (It

can also be read *āhang(īg)īh* or *hāwandagīh*, none of which gives a satisfactoy solution.)

[4] The phrase *pad nām ī yazd* occurs here only in K; no such phrase occurs elsewhere in the openings to *Dk* books. It may possibly be a late addition.

[5] Cf. Molé, *Légende*, 2 f.

[6] Spelled, as here, prwc / PWNc.

Op. Sec. a. *2.* The first phrase, here and in *Dk* VII, is clearly a Phl. equivalent to Av. *xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdå* (cf. *Yt* 1.0) "By propitiation of Ahura Mazda". What follows seems to reflect the Phl phrase *frāz-āfrīgānīh*, which is fairly well attested as the equivalent of Av. *frasastay-*.

It may be well to consider the text of *Y* 1.23: *fravarāne mazdayasnō zaraθuštriš vidaēvō ahura-ţkaēšō havane ašaone ašahe radwe yasnaiča vahmaiča xšnaoθraiča frasastayaēča*, for which the Phl. version is: *franāmēm mazdēsnīh ī zardušt (ku andarg ī wattarān gōwēm) jud-dēw (ku-š dēw abāg nēst) ohrmazddādestān (ku-š dādestān hān ī ohrmazd) hāwan ī ahlaw ī ahlāyīh rad pad yazišn ud niyāyišn ud šnāyēnīdārīh (ud) frāz-āfrīgānīh (Ph1Y* 12).

Most of the phrases encountered in the various opening formulae discussed above can be seen here, and their juxtaposition can help to determine the reading of the last phrase. *šnāyēnīdārīh*, like *šnāyišn*, renders Av. *xšnaoθra-*, and *frāz-āfrīgānīh* must therefore represent Av. *frasastay-*. Other instances of the same correspondence are recorded: *Vd* 4.43;[1] *Vr* 5.1; 11.20.[2] The Phl pharse *frāz āfrīgān* occurs also in the Phl version of *Y* 9.0. In *DkM* 711.12, 13 f. *āfrīgān(īh)* occurs twice, but it is most likely a corruption of *wābarīgān(īh)* "trustworthy, trustworthiness". The same applies to *DkM* 709.21 (where initial w- is written), which West translates "blessed". The word *āfrīgān* seems also to occur in *Ph1T* 100 (*AW* 223), where it may have the sense of "laudable"; *wābarīgān* would not seem suitable in that context. *Āfrīgānīh* is also clearly the preferable reading in *Dk* VI 289, where it stands parallel to *stāyēd*. Cf. also the phrase: *harw padēxwīh ud frāz āfrīgānīh ī dādār ī āsn-xrad ō mardom* (*DkM* 297.7-8; *Dk* B 226). "every furtherance and praise of Him who gave innate wisdom to Man".

The opening formula of the Pahlavi Wištāsp Yašt contains the same sequence of words: *abāg-mānθra ud zan(d)-pursišn ī abar-tar gāhīhā gīrišnīh mānθra abzōnīg ī ahlaw ahlāyīh rad. pad yazišn ud niyāyišn ī šnāyēnīdārīh frāz (w) āfrīgānīh* (*ZXA*, 184; cf. Dhabhar, *Translation of ZXA*, 350ff.). The first part of this formula, as pointed out by Dhabhar, is a rendering of the formula which appears with several variations in the Vendidād Sāde and other Avestan

texts. The second part contains the same elements as we have in our opening formula.

[1] Bthl., *AirWb*, col. 1001, reads *frāc āfrīnakānīh*, but this reading rests on only one MS, and may be neglected on the principle of *lectio difficilior*.

[2] Spelled in both cases ʾprʾyʾnyh ʾprʾyʾnyh

Op. Sec. a. *3.* It is possible to conclude that we should distinguish between two words which tend to be confused in Ph1. writing:

(1) *wābarīgān* "trustworthy, true", cf. Molé, *Légende*, 139, for references;

(2) *āfrīgān* (?) "laudable, praised, famous", often with abstract ending, and frequently preceded by *frāz* (probably by influence of the initial part of Av. *frasastay-*). *āfrīgān* may perhaps be considered a contracted form of *āfrīnagān*, though no analogy for such a development is known to me.

Op. Sec. a. *4.* *pōryōtkēš* is a Ph1. transcription of Av. *paoiryō.ţkaēša-*. A Syriac loan-word from Iranian, spelled **pwrywkyšyh**, is attested, cf. Widengren, *Unvala Mem. Vol.*, 72, and it can be used to demonstrate that the inner *-t-* was not actually pronounced. The word properly means "an upholder of the original faith". The spelling in Zor. NPers. (written in the Arabic script), as it occurs, e.g., in the verion of 2, is **pwrywdkyš'n**.

Op. Sec. b. *1.* The reading *kerdag ī šašom* "the sixth book" is not entirely certain. According to the MSS the word *kerdag* belongs to the preceding sentence. No similar expression occurs elsewhere in the openings to the books of Dk, which begin merely with the ordinal number (*cahārom, panjom* etc.), with the exception of Book Nine, which has *nohom dar. Kerdag/karḍag* "section, division, piece" in the physical sense is attested in *Ph1Vd* V, 49 (ed. Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 190), VI, 29 (ibid., p. 221).

Op. Sec. b. *2.* *nihang* (always spelled **nsng**) is glossed *andak* in *Fr Phl.* 25.6. Nyberg, *H1fsb*, II, 244, reads **visand*, against the traditional pronunciation as reflected by Pazand, given here. Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 372. *Dk* VII, 1.54, *Dk* B 477.5 has the following expression which is close to the one found here: *jud-jud nihang-ē az-eš* "a little of each (topic) separately".

Op. Sec. b. *3.* *wābar* cf. the expressions *wābar gugāy* "a credible, trustworthy, witness", *DkM* 214.7; 384.6; *wābar husrawīh* "credible, true good fame", *Ph1T* 79 ult.; *rāst ud wābar* "true and credible", *ZWY* IV 37.

Op. Sec. b. *4.* An alternative translation of this sentence is: ". . . concerning

a little of what has been done and held by the orthodox. The true sayings of the Mazdaean religion."

1a. *1.* A parallel text is found in *PhlT* 45 §27. A discussion of the text by Tavadia is in *Wissb. Sohn*, 81 ff.

1a. *2.* *ī dānāgān pēšēnīgān*: a similar gloss on *pōryōtkēs* can be seen in the following: *pōryōtkēš ī fradom dānišnān* (*PhlT* 41 §1). "*pōryōtkēš*, i.e. those possessed of the first knowledge".[1]
The variant in *Dd* substitutes in our passage *dēn-āgāhān* to *dānāgān*. A very similar expression, *pēšēnīg dēn-āgāhān* is also found in *Dd, pursišn* 38, 13. It can be assumed that these are the Pahlavi expressions which are commonly used to render the word *pōryōtkēš*, a borrowed and learned word in Phl.

[1] The sentence was wrongly divided by Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 186, s.v. *pōryōtkēš*.

1a. *3.* *mardomān andar ox menišn-ē*: It is quite clear that the first word in this sentence, *mardomān*, is to be understood as a dative or genitive, although it is not preceded by a preposition. Such constructions are not rare in Phl. Some examples from *Dk* VI:
mēnōgān yazdān 3 čiš ī abēr nēwag (116) "To spiritual gods there are three things which are very good".
mardomān gōhr 3 ēwēnag (68) "The substance of men is of three kinds".
ce agar mard kunišn frārōn (112) "For if the action of man is righteous".
ohrmazd ī xwadāy az mardomān xwāhišn ēn . . . (31) "The desire of Ohrmazd the Lord from men is this . . ."
harw kas dōst bāš (3) "Be a friend to every one".
Further examples: *az-eš mehān tarsagāh ud az-eš kehān dāštār bawišn* (48); *pas tan-ez ī amāh rāmišn bawēd* (97); *ce agar mardomān dar wišād ne dārēd* (187); *ud ke a'ōn jahēd* (89).

1a. *4.* For the term *ox* cf. the discussion in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, Louvain 1974, 319-326.

1a. *5.* The triad thought–speech–deed occupies a central position in Zoroastrian literature; cf. Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras*, 239f.

1a. *6.* A contrast is expressed between the position of the god and the demon by using a distinct complement to the verb *dāštan*: the action of the former is described *gāh dārēd*, that of the latter *rāh dārēd*. This latter expression is associated with robbery. Examples are: *gadūgā rāhdārā* (*ŠGV* IV, 25); *druzān ī andar tan rāhdārīh* (*DkM* 348.5-6) "the demons which constitute a robbery within the body"; *akōman pad rāhdārīh ī andarg ī ox menišn* (*DkM* 279.1-2); *ēwag aži sruwar ke-š andar gēhān hān ī sahmagenīhā rāhdārīh rāh-*jumbīdārīh*[1] *ud asp ud mard ōbārīh kard* (*Dd* LXXII 4, K35 fol. 185r 4f.) "One is Aži Sruwar who committed in the world robbery, the shaking of the road (?), and the devouring of horses and men in a terrible manner". The word occurs similarly in *Dd* XXXVI 44, (ed. Anklesaria p. 90),[2] and also in the following passage: *ce-m rāhdār ōzad *hēnd* (*PRiv Dd* 69.7) "for I have killed the robbers".
The same expression, *rāh dāštan*, survives in NPersian in the same sense of highway robbery. It occurs in a different sense in *ZXA* 196 §28; cf. translation p. 370.

[1] K35 wymbyt'lyx. The reading is doubtful.
[2] *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971), 99.

1b. *1.* This section contains an amplified, and somewhat modified, version of **1a**. The sequence in **1a** consists of: "mind"–"thought"–"speech"–"deed", i.e. the traditional threefold structure of human activity represented as springing from "mind".[1] Here the system is more elaborate, consisting as it does of "mind"–"recollection"–"desire"–"thought"–"speech"–"deed", with "recollection" and "desire" intervening between "mind" and the traditional triad. The system here is more elaborate also in the sense that at each stage there are a specific god and demon who fight over it, the sequence of deities being Wahman–Srōš–Spandarmad–Xrad–Dēn. Both lists, **1a** and **1b**, are marked by the fact that "mind" (*ox*) is outside the dualistic division. A structure somewhat similar to **1b** can be seen in *Dk* III 60: *hannām ī dādār-ohrmazd andar gētīg-dahišnān pad wahman ī mehmān ī ox, ud spandarmad ī wārom gāh, ud srōš ī dāštār ī menišn* (*DkM* 49; B facs. 36). "The members of the Creator Ohrmazd among the material creations are by (the following means): Wahman, who resides in the mind; Spandarmad, whose throne is in recollection; Srōš, who is the preserver of thought".
The deities are the same as occur also in **1b**, but in a different order and they have different associations with human faculties. The same three deities constitute also the list in 77-78 below. For a comment on their significance cf. notes to 78.
The passage is translated by Pagliaro, Riv. *Indo-greco-italicá* 13 (1929), 65.

[1] Cf. the discussion in *Mém. de Menasce*, 319 ff.

1b. *2.* On *wārom* cf. Shaked, "Terms relating to Man in Pahlavi" II (forthcoming).

1b. *3.* Wahman (Av. *vohu manah*) "Good Thought", the first of the Amәša Spənta, and Akōman (Av. *aka manah*) "Bad Thought", form a regular dualistic couple. The basic references are given by Gray, *Foundations*, 180 f.

1b. *4.* The term *kāmag* "desire" does not require a lengthy discussion; the meaning of this passage may, however, gain in clarity if we refer to a text which speaks of the dualistic split of desire:

> *ēwag-nāmag*[1] *hēd, mardom hēd, ma nigerēd ō harw dō kāmag, ce ne bawēnd tan ud ruwān harw dō ham-kāmag, ce tan pad tan-kāmagīh šāyēd dāštan ud ruwān pad ruwān-kāmagīh* (*PhlT*, p. 148 f.; *WāzAd* §41-43) "You are possessors of a single name, you are men. Do not consider both of the two desires (equally). For the body and the soul do not share the same desire; it is (only) possible to maintain the body by following the desire of the body, and the soul by following the desire of the soul."[2]

This gains some force from the text of another *andarz* treatise: *drōzanīh ēd ke tan pad kāmag, ruwān pad frēb dārēd* (*PhlT*, p. 88; *AW* §22)"Following the way of *druj* is this: one who maintains the body by (its) desire, (while he) maintains the soul by deceit."[3]

Similarly, below, 222, it is enjoined to disregard the desire of the body and to do what is good for the soul. The emphasis does not seem to weigh in favour of asceticism but in favour of finding the correct balance.

[1] There is at least the possibility that this should be emended to read **ēwag-kāmag*, which may seem to go better with what follows. The translation would in that case be: "You are possessors of a single desire, you (who) are men", etc.

[2] A different translation is given by R.C. Zaehner, *Magi*, p. 113.

[3] The ancient translator of the text into Arabic did not have the same conception of this phrase. The Arabic text is: *wa-l-kaḍibu kaḍibu l-mar'i nafsahu fa-lā yazālu hawāhā mušaffa'an wa-dīnuhā musawwafan* (Misk., *JX*, 30; cf. the commentary in a forthcoming edition and translation of this text).

1b. *5.* The basic antagonism between Srōš (Av. *sraoša*) "Obedience" and Xešm (Av. *aēšma*) "Wrath" is attested already in the Avesta, cf. *Yt.* XI 15, Y. LVII 10. It occurs quite regularly in Phl. literature; cf. discussion in Gray, *Foundations*, pp. 106 ff.

1b. *6.* For the Amәša Spənta figure Spandarmad (Av. *spəntā ārmaiti*) "Sacred Devotion" (the literal meaning of the main word being

"Right-Mindedness"), and her arch foe, Tarōmad (Av. *tarōmaiti*) "Contempt", cf. Gray, *Foundations*, pp. 47ff., 215.

1b. *7.* The word read here *xrad* "wisdom" could also, because of the ambiguities of the Pahlavi script, be read *ard* (= Av. *aši*), the deity "Recompense". On the arguments in favour of the reading *xrad* cf. the discussion in a forthcoming study.

1b. *8.* For the pair *dēn – xwad-dōšagīh* cf. below, **5**. In **246** below, however, *xwad-dōšagīh* occurs as the opponent of *xēm*.

1c. *1.* *widarg* seems to occur only in the phrase *rāh ud widarg*.

1c. *2.* *buxt* is a term which seems to have its basic occurrences in the legal field, where it means "to escape (from being convicted), to be justified, to be acquitted". Its legal opposite is *ēraxtan*, (*ērang-*), cf. *Monumentum Nyberg*, 216 ff., and below, **203**. Here the term *buxtan* is used in a somewhat looser sense, with the opposite *frēftan* "to deceive".

1c. *3.* Ms. K omits *ne* in the expression *az hān ī yazdān rāh be ne ēstēm*, but cf. below the same idiom in **167**.

2. *1.* The complete literal translation of the opening formula, which recurs throughout a large part of this book, is: "They held this too thus".

2. *2.* On the term *xēm* cf. Shaked, "Terms relating to Man in Pahlavi II" (forthcoming).

2. *3.* The phrase "one who does not do to another that which is not good for himself" is close to that which is attributed to Hillel in the Talmud (*Babli Shabbat* 31a): "That which is hateful to you do not do to your fellow". A similar expression occurs in *ŠnŠ* XIII 29; *Phlt* 58 (*AdMah* §5); 148 (*WāzAd* §39); *PRiv Dd* 199.1-4 (*AdPRiv* §25).

2. *4.* *Xrad* will be discussed in the forthcoming article referred to above. The pragmatic quality of the concept comes to light here too. In addition, one may point out that several definitions of *xrad* put some emphasis on an aspect of self-interest or at least self-centred development (e.g. here and in **3, 4, 6, Dlc**), which may be connected with the idea of a proper preservation of the person's constitution (e.g., **5, 11, 25**). The furtherance of the world (**C 83a**) and doing good to others (**115, E 38a**) are also mentioned in definitions of *xrad*, but these points do not seem to be particularly prominent. The

one point which is firmly associated with the idea of *xrad* is that of patience and restraint (cf. **127**, **154**, **240**, **C 81**, **E 8**).

2. *5.* The expression *anāgīh ī ne mad ēstēd rāy wāg ne barēd* has caused some trouble. A similar expression is found in **A 6**. The NPers. version here is *tars*, and in the parallel phrase in **A 6** it is *bāk*. These versions, and the Phl. variant in *Dd*, which is *bēš*, would all support a reading which may be the MPers. antecedent of NPers. *bāk* "fear". The spelling of the word here is **wx'k**, possibly **wyd'k**, while in *SupT ŠnŠ* XX 12-13 it is **w'k**.[1] The etymology proposed by Horn, *Grund. d. neup. Etym.*, for NPers. *bāk* is **bhāyaka-*; the initial w- of the Pahlavi spelling raises a problem, but one may refer to a form like Av. *nivayaka-* (Yt.5:95) "frightening". Cf. also K.M. Jamaspasa, *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 208 n. 55.
For the meaning, it is clear that our word is not *wahāg* "sale, price", which is spelled identically. Apart from the various parallels and NPers. renderings of the word quoted above, it is possible to refer to **C 10** below, where a close parallel to our saying occurs: *ciš ī ne mad ēstēd rāy bēš ud zarīg ne barišn*, in which *bēš ud zarīg* stand parallel to *wāg*. Cf. also *REA* 12:17: *ke a-wāgīhā ud harzagīhā kunēd* "One who performs it without care and in a loose manner". *MX* 42:1 has as epithets for Hell: *dušaxw ī duš-wāg (?) ī tārīk* "dark and terrifying hell", although the Pāzand reads there *dušgand* "evil-smelling" (in contrast to Paradise, which is *hu-bōy*), and so evidently does the Sanskrit translator. Nyberg, *Manual* II, 69 reads **duš-viyāk* "nasty-smelling", which is purely conjectural.

[1] Translated by West "anxiety", by Tavadia "woe" and by Kotwal "fear, dread".

2. *6.* On *wīr* cf. the discussion by Shaked, "Terms relating to Man in Pahlavi II" (forthcoming).

2. *7.* Sentences relating to the idea of the last sentence here occur in **154** and **183**. Our sentence occurs in a NPers. version in Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. Humā'ī, Teheran, 1315-1317 H., p. 121. Cf. also Misk., *JX*, 74: *min al-'ilmi an ta'lama annaka lā ta'lamu*.

3. *1.* Cf. above, note **1a**. *3.*

3. *2.* The translation adopted here for *abar bar* follows the established meaning of the phrase *bar burdan* in NPers., although it seems somewhat strained here. One might think of a possible meaning such as "to turn towards" in the present context.

3. *3.* It is possible to show from section 4 that the phrase which is only found in *Dd* is a genuine part of the text. Section 4 repeats the sequence *xēm-xrad-dēn*, and may be interpreted as something like a commentary of 3.

3. *4.* *dēn*, corresponding as it does to "character", "wisdom" and "soul", must clearly be taken to refer here to a faculty or part of the individual.

3. *5.* *pad-eš* is a postposition; cf. M. Boyce, "Some Middle Persian and Parthian constuctions with governed pronouns", *Unvala Memorial Volume*, pp. 49-56.

4. *1.* The idea of this section is echoed in **D 1c**, though with a different formulation.

4. *2.* Sin as self-deception or the deception of man by Ahreman is a frequent theme in Phl literature. Main passages in *Dk* VI are **243**, **E 12**.

4. *3.* The phrase concerning *dēn* here is somewhat elaborated upon in **5**; the same underlying conception of *dēn* – that of doing what one knows ought to be done – is repeated in a different wording in **10**, and the idea of knowledge associated with *dēn* is attested in **185**. Striving to know one's faults occurs as a characteristic of *dēn* in **115**, **E 38a**, and, somewhat differently, in **261**.

5. *1.* Cf. the note above, 4. *3.* An Arabic version, with variants, occurs in Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-adab al-ṣaghīr*, in *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī, 3rd. ed., Cairo 1946, 27, and in Misk., *JX*, 75f.

5. *2.* It would have been more natural to have *ke hān ce dānēd . . . ne kunēd* "One who does not do that which he knows . . ."; but the MSS have *ud ne kunēd, ud kunēd*, consistently.

5. *3.* The opposition *xēm / tar-menišnīh* is attested in **246**. The meaning of *tar-menišn, tar-menīdan* is quite clear from the Avestan correspondence to *tarō.maiti-*, cf. *N.* 41, where it occurs parallel to Av. *ąsta-* "hatred", and where the Phl. gloss explains: *ka gōwēd ast u-š ne āzādīh dādār* "When he says: (the religion) exists, but does not praise it".[1] The Phl. contrast *bawandag-menišnīh / tar-menišnīh*, e.g. below **C 53 / C 54**, **E 11** reflects Av. *ārmaiti / tarō.maiti* and the corresponding verbal forms. Cf. e.g. *tarō.*

mainyantā /ərəm mainyātā translated *tar menēd, bawandag menēd*, and the comments by Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras*, 59 f.

[1] Waag's reading should be corrected.

5. *4.* *petyārag* is a regular term designating ethical and religious contrasts in Phl.; it occurs quite frequently when contrasting qualities to vices, e.g. *PhlT* 93 (= *AW* 85).

5. *5.* For the opposition *xrad–waranīgīh* cf. above **1b**.

5. *6.* For the opposition *xwad-dōšagīh / dēn* cf. above **1b**.

6. *1.* The NPers. version makes "wisdom" and "character" subsist in "religion". This seems to go against the wording of the Phl., and would give a meaning which would contrast with the hierarchial order established from other passages: "character", "wisdom", and "religion", a hierarchial arrangement which finds its echo in the second part of this section ("religion" being there represented by the phrase *hamīh ī harw 2* "the combination of both"). Each successive item in the hierarchy seems to be present in that which precedes it. For the series of terms in other texts cf. the commentary on **2**.

7. *1.* The word *nang* usually comes in *Dk* VI in a bad sense, with the exception of **110**.

8. *1.* *mādiyān* has two basic meanings: (1) a book, corpus; (2) the core, the essential part, the main thing.[1] It seems not unlikely that both meanings could be derived from the same basic etymology, **mātak-dān* "that which contains the matter".[2] The most notable usage of the word in the second meaning is in military contexts.[3] A passage which has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted belongs to this type of usage. It occurs in the account of the *catrang* as given by Wuzurgmihr in the Phl treatise on the game:

> *catrang pad cim [ī] kārezār humānāg kard u-š humānāg 2 sar-xwadāy kard šāh ō mādiyān raxw ō xōyag ud dašnag humānāg. . .(PhlT* 116)[4]
>
> "On the next day Wuzurgmihr summoned Taxtarītus to his presence and said: Dēwsarm made this *catrang* in the likeness of the rules of battle. He made two supreme commanders in its likeness, the king like the core (of the battle-line),[5] and the rook[6] like the left and right flanks. . ."

It is not entirely clear what is alluded to by the two *sar-xwadāy* "generals": they may be (a) the two players, (b) the two rival kings in the game, or (c) the two sets of figures, king and rook (though they constitute three pieces altogether for each player).

[1] Cf. W.B. Henning in *JRAS*, 1942, 241 and *Mirisch.*, 70, as well as Henning's note in Gershevitch, *GMS*, 250, Addenda to §1117.
[2] This seems to be Henning's later position, as expressed in *Mirisch.*
[3] Cf. Henning, *JRAS*, loc. cit.
[4] Cf. C. Salemann, *Mittelpersische Studien*, I, in *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* 9 (1880-1888), St.-Petersburg 1888, p. 224; E.W. West, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 389 f.; Th. Nöldeke, Persische Studien, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1892, pp. 20-26; A. Pagliaro, *RSO*, 18 (1940), 328-340.
[5] The phrase here is echoed by Firdausi's: *bi-ārāsta šāh qalb-i sipāh* which seems to reflect: *šāh ō mādiyān. . .humānāg*; cf. Pagliaro, loc. cit. (where the correspondence was not noticed).
[6] The first to recognize the meaning of the word was E.W. West, loc. cit. His translation of the phrase is: ". . .and, resembling it, two supreme rulers are made like Kings, with the essentials of Rukhs to the left and right". The word *raxw* is presumably connected to the Indian designation *ratha* "chariot" for this piece. It may reflect OIr. **raθava* - or the like; cf. A. Pagliaro, loc. cit. (note 4).

9. *1.* The constant association of *xwēškārīh* with *xwarr* is quite well-known,[1] and it may possibly rest on an old etymology of *xwarənah-* which would regard it as composed of *xwă-arə-nah-*, the middle element a cognate of *arəθa-* "thing; judicial trial", *arəenu-* "battle" etc., hence "that which has its own work".[2]

[1] Cf. Bthl., *AirWb*, s.v. *x^{v}arənah-*; Dhabhar, *PhlY & Vr*, glossary s.v. *xwēškār, xwēškārīh*; Bailey, *ZorPr*, 35 ff.; Molé, *Culte*, 434.
[2] I now find basically the same explanation in the introduction to the new edition of *ZorPr* (Oxford 1971) pp. xix ff.

9. *2.* The sentence as it stands does not seem correct. The translation offered here constitutes an attempt to accept it as it stands, but the result is rather strenuous. If nothing is missing from the text one of two emendations would make it more acceptable syntactically: either to cross out the word *pad* (Sanjana's suggestion); or to read *xwēš-kārīh* instead of *xwēš-kārag*. In both cases the resulting translation would give the meaning: "He is a man who fulfils his duty who has knowledge" – not a very illuminating sentence, but quite possible in the context.

10. *1.* The meaning of *uskār-* is well established by, among other things, the Persian glosses on Pahlavi passages. Cf., for example, in **122**, where the Phl word is first given in transcription: **xwšk'rydn** then in translation to NPers: *mašvarat kardan*.

10.2. The passage is not entirely clear. The meaning may possibly be that deliberation, i.e., the making of religious decisions, is confined to those who have the skill, viz. priestly sages; every person should, at the same time, carry out in action the decisions known to him. Other interpretations are also possible.

11. *1.* The passage allows also of the following interpretation: The creatures were endowed with character at the moment of creation; they hold themselves by the wisdom which they possess; and they are taken back to Ohrmazd by the religion which is an aspect of their personality. The conflict between this interpretation and the one given in the translation arises from the familiar fact that notions like *xēm, xrad* and *dēn* are always ambiguous in Zoroastrianism, and it may be true to say that both the subjective and the cosmic interpretations are in many cases valid.

12. *1.* Ahreman and Ohrmazd are here distinguished by the tenses which are applied to them. Ahreman's past-tense activity may in some way be associated with the idea of his doctrinal "non-existence": cf. Shaked in *Scholem Festschrift*, 227-234.

13. *1.* *xwēš-kārīhā* is an adjective with an adverbial ending. The phenomenon is not very rare in Phl. Cf., e.g., below 228 *ērangīhā*.

13. *2.* The expression *cašm ō gēhān dāštan* "to have one's eye on the world" recurs in a similar context in 228. It is possible that it implies an attitude similar to that which is described in 322 by the words: ". . . one who holds the things of the material world in front (of him) . . ."

13. *3.* *jahišnīg* is associated no doubt with the verb *jastan, jah-* "to jump; to come about, occur". A synonym of this adjective seems to be the compound *pad jastag* which occurs in C 77, C 78. The word *jahišnīg* occurs also in *Dd* XXV 7:

> **and frāyist nēwagīh ī mēnōg az hān ī gētīg cand hān ī a-kanārag ud hamēyīg az hān ī kanāragōmand ud jahišnīg* "*Mēnōg* goodness is superior to *gētīg* goodness in the same measure as that which is unlimited and eternal surpasses that which is limited and accidental."

A passage in *MX*[1] uses the verb *jahēd* for *wināh* in the sense of "to happen (accidentally or involuntarily)", and specifies: "out of ignorance, negligence or foolishness", which gives the word its full definition. Our word is also associated with the word *jahān* "springing, coming forth" in *Dd* XXV 5, on which cf. the remarks made in *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 98. In NPers. we have *jahān* in the sense of 'restless', cf. Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, p. 55 line

7. In early JPers. we have **jhšny** in the sense of 'fortunate', cf. e.g. *B.M. Pentateuch* Num. xiv:41. A different etymology is offered by M. Shaki, *ArOr* 43 (1975), 258.

[1] *MX* LI 17; cf. below, B 14 note 2, text V.

13. *4.* The phrase "not to reproach a sinner . . ." occurs with some variants also in 14, 181, 182, and the same idea is expressed with more detail in 243. The expression in 228 "not to look at the fault of another person" seems to echo the same theme.

13. *5.* Cf. note on *pēšār* in 101. *1.*

13. *6.* There are parallels to the phrase for seeking reward from the spirits in 14, 78, 110, 181, 182, E 5. For *kirbag pādāšn* we have *spās* in an otherwise identical phrase in 29, E 30a.

14. *1.* Cf. notes to 13, where further references are given.

14. *2.* The phrase "not to praise a deceitful man . . ." has parallels in 181, 182.

15. *1.* This saying seems, in a way, to form a commentary on the relevant sentences in 13 and 14.

16. *1.* *gāh ud zamān* could mean "place and time".

18. *1.* A similar saying occurs in *PhlT* pp. 56-57, §10:

> *gētīg pad espanj dār ud tan pad āsān nēwagīh pad kardan dār bazag pad ranz-spōz mēnōg pad xwēš-kunišn* "Hold this world as an inn and regard your body as of little value; hold goodness as a thing to do, treat sin by that which repels pain and the spiritual world by doing your own (duty)."

The compound *ranz-spōz* occurs as an allegorical name in D 11 and E 22a. In *DkM* 250.10-11 a similar compound, *āhōg-spōz*, is attested. A similar expression in NPers. is *γam-gusār* "removing worry > friend", e.g. *Samak-e 'Ayyār*, II, 3.

19. *1.* On *ērang* cf. my discussion in *Mon. Nyberg*, 216 ff.

20. *1.* The unusual opening formula of this section may perhaps be explained on the assumption that this was not meant to be an independent saying, but rather a commentary by way of a definition of the term *ahlāyīh* which occurs in the preceding section. For a brief comment, cf. *Esoteric trends* p. 195.

20. *2.* If the sentence is indeed a commentary on **19**, as suggested in the preceding note, it may perhaps be better to translate it: "That thing is this: One who is a friend of the gods and never removes his thought . . ." A similar idea is expressed in **E 4**.

20. *3.* On *wisān-* cf. Shaked, "Ambiguous words in Pahlavi", *IOS* 4 (1974), 227 ff.

21. *1.* The first sentence in this rather puzzling passage could also conceivably be rendered: "The source of heresy has been destroyed".

21. *2.* An alternative, and somewhat less likely translation, may be: "When it came to power, it (*hān*, viz. heresy) departed from the faith with the power and authority that belonged to it". This use of *hān* as a personal pronoun strikes one as being quite unusual in Phl.

21. *3.* A commentary on this passage is provided by *Dk* III 349 (*DkM* 337 f.). Cf. text and translation of the relevant part in Shaked, "Ambiguous words in Pahlavi", *IOS* 4 (1974), 246 ff.

22. *1.* *wehīh* and *wattarīh* probably imply more precisely the fact or the manner of being good or evil respectively. The idea of evil as such is most often expressed by *anāgīh*. The verb *griftan* has here presumably the connotation of learning.

22. *2.* "Any" is here expressed by *harw kas-ez* with the negative, which is somewhat unusual.

22. *3.* The general idea of this passage is also expressed in **115**, under the heading of *xēm* "character".

23. *1.* In both cases B has *hunarōmandīh* for K's *hunarāwandīh* in this passage. B's reading can be explained as a transposition of the original form for the one that came to be exclusive by the beginning of the NPers. period. On the two forms cf. Salemann, *GIPh*, I, 1, p. 280.

23. *2.* For *jādag-gōw* cf. the discussion in Shaked, "Some legal and administrative terms of the Sasanian period", *Mon. Nyberg*, II 213 ff. Differently, Gignoux in *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses*, tome 83 (1974-75), 234.

23. *3.* In contrast to the usual meaning of *sūdōmand, sūdmand* "useful, beneficial" (cf. *MX*, XIX 2, 4, where it comes in opposition to *ziyān-gār* "harmful"), the word seems here to signify "possessing benefit, having advantage".

23. *4.* The word *wēšīgān* does not seem to have been noticed in the scholarly literature. It is an adjective used adverbially and has the ending *-īgān* alternating with *-īg*, just like *wābarīgān, ōstīgān*. The form *wēšīg* is also attested in the same adverbial usage:

*ēw šnāsihēd ku zištīh ud nēwagōgīh frahist hān ī ne pad xwadīh be pad kardan ī sahišn ud warrawišn ud hōg ī kas. wasān zišt frazandān hēnd ī pad menišn ī *zayēnīdārān*[1] *wēšīg hu-cihr, ud wasān hu-cihr karb hēnd ī pad menišn ī* 'xwwp'n[2] *wēšīg duš-cihr* (*DkM*, p. 78; B, p. 57; cf. West, *SBE*, XVIII, p. 407). "It ought to be known that ugliness and beauty are primarily not in the selfness but in the effect of seemingness, belief and habit of the person. There are many ugly children who in the thought of their parents are exceedingly beautiful, and many of beautiful shape who, in the thought of *strangers, are exceedingly ugly".

[1] MS YLYDWNyt'lyx.

[2] The reading of this word is unknown to me. It occurs also in *DkM* 10.7: *ud az hōg ī ahlamōg waranīg nigerīdārīh ī abar xwēš, akōmanīg nigerīdārīh ī abar* 'xwp'n *gōwišn* "From heretical custom (there comes about) talk of greedy regard for oneself and hostile regard for *other people". Molé (*Oriens* 13/14, 1961, p. 13) reads in the passage just quoted, wrongly in my opinion: *axūpān gōβišn* "de vilaines paroles".

23. *5.* For *āzādīh* cf. Shaked in *IOS* 4 (1974), 239 ff.

23. *6.* Such lists of demons are fairly common in Pahlavi literature. Some examples may be quoted:

āz ud niyāz ud xešm ud arešk ud nang ud waran ud kēn ud būšyāsp ud druz ī ahlamōgīh[1] (*PhlT*, p. 89; *AW*)

āz ud niyāz ud kēn ud xešm ud waran ud arešk ud druwandīh (*ZWY* VIII 2)

One of the most complete lists of demons is found in *GBd* 182 ff. It begins with Akōman, Indar, Sāwul, Nānhāiθya, Tabrēw; followed by Tarōmat, Mitōxt, Arešk, Xešm etc. While the first two lists quoted, like the one on which our passage is based, are enumerations of demonized vices, the list in *GBd* 182 ff. consists of names of demonic persons the origins of which are not necessarily associated with vices personified. Further lists in Pahlavi can be easily classified as belonging to the one type or to the other, with the first type sometimes presenting itself as a list of abstract notions of vices, as, for example, in the first *pursišn* of *MX*, where we have one of the longest such lists: *spazgīh, āz-kāmagīh, xešmīh, bēš, waranīgīh, arešk, nang, būšyāsp*, followed by an enumeration of many more specific transgressions (*drāyān-ǰōyišnīh, wišād-*

dwārišnīh, etc.). The second type, that of proper demons, is further represented by *Dd* XXXVI 31, where we have Akōman, Xešm, Zarmān, Būšyāsp, +Niyāz, +Gannāg-widangīh (?), +Wad-baxt, Wāy, Waran, Astōwihād, Wizarš. Another type, probably related to that of the list of demons proper, consists of archetypal "sinners". Thus we have in *Dd* LXXVI (K 35 183v-184v) a list of seven: aži-dahāk, aži-sruwar,[2] vaδaγan,[3] *wiftag nar* and *wēbēnīdag nar*,[4] Tūr ī brādarwa(x)š.[5] and one who twists the Avesta and Zand out of propensity for heresy.

[1] The printed text has in addition *ud spazgīh*, which does not belong to the original text, as can be shown from a comparison of the Arabic version and from an analysis of the context. This discussion is reserved to a projected editon of *AW*.
[2] Cf. *AirWb* 1650
[3] Cf. *AirWb* 1344.
[4] The two participants in a homosexual action.
[5] Cf. West, *SBE* V, 195 fn. 5.

23. *7.* The text has *kard ēstēd* which does not seem to possess the effect of a past tense, but would rather seem to denote the same as *abar ēstēd pad kardan* in the earlier part of the sentence.

23. *8.* *a-gōwand* is present participle: cf. Bthl., *ZKMirMund*, II, 21.

23. *9.* Cf. for this Bthl., ibid.

23. *10.* For the concept of *driyōš* (Av. *drigu-, drəgu-*)cf. Kaj Barr, *Studia orientalia I. Pedersen. . .dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 21-40. On the concept of the 'intercessor for the poor' cf. J. de Menasee, *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 282-287; A. Perikhanian, *Sasanidskij sudebnik*, Erevan 1973, 466 f.

23. *11.* The spelling wx to represent the word *weh* "good", though not common, is attested; cf. Bthl., *ZKMirMund*, II, 23. The plural wx'n is also known. Cf. also the spelling dx for the word *deh* "province, village", quoted Bthl., *ZAirWb* 39.

23. *12.* This part of the section is transcribed and translated by Bthl., loc. cit. (note *8* above); Jamaspasa, *Pursišnīhā*, 40 f., footnote.

24. *1.* *widang* is attested in this sense, outside Phl., in Manichaean Parthian, cf. *MirMan* III, Glossar, s.v. It is not attested in Man. MPers.

26. *1.* The word *magend* occurs also in *PhlT* 134.1: *gēhān pērāyag kišwar abrang ud ōstām magend* "The ornament of the world, the splendour of the climes, the shield of the provinces".[1]
This seems to be the same word as MPT mgyn, mgynd, which W.B. Henning[2]

established as a loan-word from Aramaic. Henning explained the final *-nd* as coming about from Aramaic *-nn* by a process which reverses the common MPers. development *-nd-* > *-nn-*. One difficulty about this explanation is that Aramaic did not preserve *-nn* in final position. Another difficulty is that the word with the ending *-nd* is attested in Phl., which is a form of MPers. in which the law about the development of *-nd-* to *-nn-* is not well attested. There is however the possibility that by giving it the ending *-end* the word was assimilated to a common pattern of adjectives.

[1] The explanation given by R.C. Zaehner, *Dawn*, 164, and p. 331 n. 43 to Ch. VII, is unacceptable. Cf. also Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937), 104.
[2] *Mirisch.*, 104 note 2.

26. *2.* There is a change from the plural of the subject *mardomān* to the singlular of the optative expression *be ēw hilēd*.

26. *3.* *az-eš* seems best taken as post-position to *ēn 4 čiš*.

26. *4.* *ābār-būd* is probably a compound qualifying *bīm*: "fear of being detached". It may be taken to have the same structure as *frēh-būd, abē-būd*.

26. *5.* For the expression *ne wizīrēd*, represented in NPers. by *nā guzīr*, cf. Bthl., *WZKM* 29 (1915), 40 f.

27. *1.* The reading and interpretation of this word are doubtful. It might be possible to read *hangārišn, hangārēd*.

27. *2.* A possible alternative reading of the two last concepts may be: *hanbārīh ī hunsandīh* "treasuring of contentment".

28. *1.* *ustefrīd*: cf. *ŠnŠ* V 2 and Tavadia's note 7 (p. 92 f.). Cf. also *PRiv* 94.14.

29. *1.* On *gilag-ōbār* cf. Shaked, *Mon. Nyberg* II, 220 ff.

29. *2.* The word *wēdwar* has been discussed in detail by B.N. Dhabhar in *Khareghat Mem. Vol.*, 146-148 (reproduced in Dhabhar, *Essays*, 153-156). A further extensive discussion is by H.K. Mirza in *Unvala Mem. Vol.*, 154-168.

29. *3.* For the phrase *spās az mēnōgān xwāhišn* cf. above, **13.***6*.

30. *1.* The point of this saying seems to be based on the play of meanings contained in the various homonyms: *ahu- (ox)* "lord" as well as "mind, being" etc.

31. *1.* An Arabic version of the text, attributed to the sage Buzurjmihr is found in Misk., *Jāwīdān Xirad*, p. 38.18-19; Jāḥiẓ, *Al-maḥāsin wal-aḍdād*, Cairo 1330 H./1912, p. 132. Cf. *Esoteric trends* p. 37.

35. *1.* The saying is far from clear. The meaning of the passage as postulated here is as follows: It is better to rely on faith in the advocacy which the soul may get in the other world (and as a consequence perhaps to be careless about performing one's religious duties), than to reject that faith.

37. *1.* For *sūdagīh* cf. Dhabhar, *Essays*, 136-145.

37. *2.* A similar use of *māndan* in a bad sense is found in **202.** Following the parallel in usage it may be suggested to translate here: "*māndag* is that which one abandons", though the subjunctive form of the verb causes some difficulty.

43. *1.* cf. *Esoteric trends*, p. [24], fn. 59. A parallel occurs in **320** and partly in **267.**

46. *1.* For *mehgārīh* cf. Man. Pth. **myhg'r** "harmful" (D.N. MacKenzie).

46. *2.* For *med* cf. Bthl., *AirWb* 1181, and *zSR* I 42,n. 1 "sich ablehnend verhalten, in Abrede stellen, leugnen".

47. *1.* For *pazībāgīh* cf. *PhlT* 93 §104, NP. *pajīv* (W.B. Henning).

48. *1.* For *sōg* "benefit" cf. Av. *saokă-*. *MX* I 77: *sōg-dādārīh, GBd* 54:2 *sōg-dahīg* (so also DH173r; but *sūd-dahīg* in TD_1 21v).

48. *2.* *hugar* is identical in writing with **'ndl** (=*andar*), which explains the substitution of the ideogram **BYN** for this word (cf. also below, **78.** *3.*). The word is discussed by R.C. Zaehner, *BSOAS* 10 (1940/42), 614. Cf. also xwkly in Kirdēr Sar Mašhad 11, Ka'ba-i Zardušt 7 (Gignoux, *JA* 256, 1968, 393 f.)

48. *3.* The last phrase is formulated differently in the Arabic version of Misk.:

> *fa'inna hāḏā huwa l-šay'u llaḏī yashadu laka bi'anna ijlālaka liman fawqaka laysa bixuḍū'in lahum minka wa'anna līnaka liman huwa dūnaka laysa li-ltimāsi axḏi šay'in minhum.* "For this (scil. the treatment of one's peers) is the thing that testifies that your veneration of your superiors is not out of obsequiousness, and that your softness towards your inferiors is not out of expectation to take something from them".

50. *1.* Cf. Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 56. The saying seems to be alluded to in *DkM* 14.5-6: *pursīd ku hān ī guft ēstēd ku az padīdīg[īh] be rāh ī ō dušaxw nēst cim*. "It has been asked: What is the reason for (the statement that) there is no way from repentance to hell? " The reply uses terms which imply that repentance causes the healing of the soul from impurities.

50. *2.* For *abaxš* cf. Bthl., *ZKMirMund* II, 41 f.

51. *1.* Literally "at (a time of) gravity of mind".

52. *1.* The verb *paykaftan* will be discussed in a forthcoming article.

53. *1.* This is a current theme in Sasanian *andarz*. What is meant by "a religious authority who is wise" is indirectly defined by a saying of Ādurbād son of Mahraspand: *pēš-gāh ud dānāg mard grāmīg kun u-š saxwan az-eš purs u-š ašnaw*[1] (*PhlT* 61, *AdMah* §36) "Give honour to a distinguished and wise man, ask him matters and listen to him." Both the theme of associating with the wise and that of being with the righteous are expressed by Wuzurgmihr: *ce nēwag-tar? hamīh ī abāg wehān. ce sūdōmand-tar? nišastan ī abāg dānāgān* (*PhlT* 99, *AW* §202-294) "What is best? Association with the good. What is most beneficial? Sitting together with the wise."

[1] The reading given here is based to a large extent on the variants given by the editor of *PhlT*.

53. *2.* Literally. "righteous company", but the expression reflects *hamīh ī abāg wehān* quoted in the preceding note.

55. *1.* On this and the following passage cf. *Esoteric trends* p. 183-184. The same idea occurs in Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-adab al-kabīr*, cf. *Āthār Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, Beirut 1966, 297.

56. *1.* The list of terms *wīr, huš, xrad* occurs again in **64.** The functions of these faculties are defined in a similar manner in Chapter 60 of *Dk* III:

> *az dādār āfurišn ud dahišn ī hamaragān mardom jān xwadāy ast, ud abar hān ī xwēš tan dād ēstēd ō-šān hayyārīh az andarōn ī tan bōy, ī pad*[1] *wīr nērōg xwāstār ud ayāftār, ud pad huš ōz dāštār ud pādār, ud pad xrad zōr nigerīdār ud wizīngar ud kārīgēnīdār ast ī dānišn* (*DkM* 48; B 35)[2] "From the Creator's conceptual and material creation of all people the *jān* is the lord. For their aid there was given to them over their own body, from within it, *bōy*, which is the seeker and finder of wisdom through the power of *wīr*; its keeper and preserver through the

might of *huš*; its inspector, selector and the one who brings it into effect through the force of *xrad*."

The three agents *wīr*, *huš* and *xrad* are here represented as powers or aspects of *bōy*, consciousness, the latter being apparently a faculty of *jān*, the soul. This interpretation gains some support from another passage in *Dk* III (Chapter 123):

> *harw ce ne sōhihēd pad tan sōhišnān ud wēnihēd pad jān wēnišn mēnōg ast, ud mēnōg-wēn xrad, ce'ōn ruwān was zōr-ez, ce'ōn wīr ud huš ud xrad ī *waxš-zōrān ī jān ud ruwān* (*DkM* 122, B 91) "Every thing that is not perceived by bodily [organs of] perception, but is seen through the vision of *jān* is *mēnōg*; the one that sees *mēnōg* is *xrad*, for *ruwān* has many powers, like *wīr*, *huš* and *xrad*, which are the spiritual powers of *jān* and *ruwān*."[3]

The same conception underlies another passage from *Dk* III, Chapter 60:

> *ud hān ī-š hannām pad tanīg ud jānīg abzār hannām ī awe ahlaw pad huš*[4] *ka pad *āgāhīh ī yazdān dāmān ud dahišnān frawand asmān ēwēnag; ud pad wīr ka pad rāst ayābagīh ī dānišnān *tābēh*[5] *ī ātaxš mānāg; ud pad xrad ka pad dānišnān kārān ud cišān purr-p[ayw] andihēd*[6] *āgāhīh ī weh-dēn ham *ce'ōn*[7] **purr*[8] *abzōnīgīh ud bawandag-menišnīh ī pad-eš parwānag pad saxwan ud kunišn* (*DkM* 49f.; B 36) "The one whose limbs are (provided) with faculties of body and soul – (these are) the limbs of the righteous man: through *huš*, when, like the firmament, he encompasses the various creatures by the knowledge of the gods; through *wīr*, when, like fire, he glows by the true perception of the sciences; through *xrad*, when the knowledge of the Good Religion is fully joined, by the sciences, to people and things, in the same manner as the bounty and humility which are in him (constitute) a guide in speech and action."

Here the order is upset, with *huš* coming first, but the general scheme is the same: all three are organs of spiritual perception, *wīr* representing the faculty of intellectual grasping, *huš* that of retaining, and *xrad* that of applying knowledge in action, with the power of discerning being left in this case unmentioned. The last passage quoted is followed by an enumeration of further organs like *dil*, *cašm*, *gōš*, *uzwān*, *dast* and *pāy*, all representing spiritual or religious functions. A more systematic list of the constituents of the person is given in

PhlT 51 (*ADān* §3): *huš, wīr, bōy, jān, tan, kālbud*. In this list, perhaps significantly, *xrad* is absent.

[1] Ms has *pad-eš*.
[2] Part of this text is given in Bailey, *ZorPr*, 102. The passage is translated by de Menasce in *Pratidānam*, 197 n. 13.
[3] Cf. de Menasce in *Pratidānam*, 197, where a different translation of the passage is given. This series of concepts is discussed there in note 13.
[4] Ms has here a superfluous *pad*.
[5] Ms tycyx.
[6] Or *pandihēd* "is counselled"?
[7] Ms (w)cyn'.
[8] Ms PWN.

56. *2.* For *jūdan, jōy-* "to chew" cf. Tavadia, *ŠnŠ*, p. 140, note 13 to 25 b. Further references in Pahlavi are available. Cf., e.g., *ZXA* 81.5, 8 (quoted Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 92); *DkM* 826.8 (quoted Molé, *Culte*, 196). The word occurs as a gloss on Av. *aparaoδayeti* Y 19.7 which is first transcribed into Phl **'p'lwkynyt**;[1] the NP and Skt versions give "forget" and "neglect" as equivalent. There is no reason to translate it, as Tavadia does, "to mumble". The passage in *ŠnŠ* is therefore best translated as follows:

> "When the Avesta and Zand are recited, one should not omit ((that is, when one commits Avesta and Zand to memory in order to recite them,[2] one should not omit)), for, in omission, the portion *Ahunavar* is most serious" (*ŠnŠ* X 25b).

The discussion of *gilag ōbār*, above **29**, may be referred to for semantic analogies to the development *jūdan* "to chew" > "to omit".

[1] Bthl. (*AirWb*, 1494 f.) regards this as a genuine MP word, a denominative from *ābār* "away, distant" (in our system of transcription), with a secondary form **ābārōg*. This seems to me somewhat unlikely. The Phl spelling may seem rather to represent something like *abārōy-*, a MP imitation of the supposed Av. verb. In favour of this interpretation we may refer to the forms *(abāz) rānēn-* "to lead back" (*ŠnŠ* X 26), *rānag-* etc. (v. Bthl., *AirWb*, the forms quoted in the notes to *[3]raod-*, col. 1494). These are actual MP verbal forms which render the same Av. verb.
[2] Reading: *ku tā abastāg ud zand ka-š warm be kard ō gōwišn, be ne jōyišn*. It is possible, though, to regard the main sentence of the gloss, as Tavadia does, as *ō(h) gōwišn ud be ne jōyišn* "one should recite (them) thus, and not omit".

57. *1.* This and the following section relate to each other like a riddle and its solution. Cf. *Esoteric trends*, p. 199 n. 64, where the translation should be corrected. The same idea, expressed in similar terms, but interpreted

explicitly as referring to *wahišt* and *garōdmān*, the two stages of Paradise, occurs in *Dd* XXX 14 (quoted in *IOS* 4, 1974, 238).

57. *2.* For *ayās-* cf. Shaked in *IOS* 4 (1974), 236 ff. Etymologically derived from OIr. *yās-*, one probably has to assume a prevero *abi* rather than *ā* (presumably leading to MPers. *ayyās-*), to account for NPers. *yāsa*, for which one may compare MP. *hayyār*, NP. *yār*; MP. *ay(y)ād*, NP. *yād*.

58. *1.* The fact that this section is omitted from Ms. B, which is on the whole rather carelessly written, may be accidental. At the same time, as **58** is phrased as an appendix to **57**, containing as it does the solution to the riddle of that section, it is tempting to take the absence of **58** from Ms. B as an indication that it is a gloss, perhaps added later, to the preceding section, and does not form part of the original collection.

59. *1.* The word, read *vīγīrāy* by Bartholomae,[1] *vikīrāk* (?) by Salemann,[2] has been interpreted by Henning as a loan-word from Aramaic in the reading *nakkīrā*,[3] a tempting solution, despite some difficulties.[4] The main objection to this interpretation consists in the fact that the Aramaic word from which our word is supposedly derived is nowhere attested, and is a mere reconstruction, albeit a plausible one.

As to the meaning of the word, "denying, repudiating", there are some passages where this sense does not fit in very well. The main references are: *MX* XXXVI 13; *AVn* LVI 4; *ŠGV* XIV 80; *DkM* 421.21; 714.6; 718.3; 720.2; 724.15; 741.11; *MHD* 6.4, 12; 8.2.

It often occurs in such combinations as in the following text: *ud pad-eš kerdārīh [ī] wad-huaxwīh*[5] *ud duš-nakīrāyīh ud zūr gugāhīh ud wardag kardan ī hān ī xešmen ī stahmag* (*DkM* 825.21 f.)[6] "And by his doing of evil existence and bad repudiation and false testimony and imprisonment of that wrathful and fierce one," where "repudiation, denial" is perhaps somewhat out of place. It also occurs in *PursišnīhāI* 54, where the text is far from clear. A reconstruction different from that which was published lately may be offered as follows:

> *yaṯčiṯ dim* ⁺*davō*[7] *dātōiš uzrātiš noiṯ aētahe* ⁺*uzvarənō naēṯa varō* ⁺*avayāite*[8] "If a liar (?) is a *repudiator of[9] law, neither his repudiation nor his affirmation[10] should be accepted".

To which the Pahlavi version reads:

> *agar-ez hān ke dādwar pad dahišn ul nakīrā ne awe pad hān ul-n[ak] īrāyīh ā-š ne be rasēd*. "Even if a judge repudiates by giving (?),[11] he does not reach by that repudiation".

This reconstruction makes it necessary to assume that the author of the Pahlavi version did not understand the word *dava*, unless it is corrupted from a word which does mean "judge".

[1] Bthl., *ZSR*, I, 12; II, 37 ff.
[2] *GIPh*, I, 2, p. 279, where the translation of the word is given as "Verächter".
[3] *BSOAS*, 11 (1946), 732. cf. also Henning, *NGGW*, 1932, 219 n. 7, where the existence of an *-āy* morpheme suffix in MPers. is denied.
[4] Further references: H.H. Schaeder, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1935), 571 n. 1; Kanga, *Phl Version of Yašts*, 43 f., translates "embezzlement"; Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 204 n. 2. Perikhanian, *Sasanidskij sudebnik*, Erevan 1973, 434, regards nkyl'd as ideogram for *anbasān*.
[5] *huaxwīh*, being used to translate Av. *havaŋhva-* (cf. Bthl., *AirWb* s.v.), properly means "bliss" or "righteousness". Its use with *wad-* is reminiscent of such expressions as *duš-humat, duš-hūxt, duš-hwaršt*.
[6] Cf. Molé, *Culte*, 196.
[7] Ms. *dava*. I take it that we have here a nom. sg. of *davant* (from *dabant*), the pres. participle, or the like.
[8] Emendation proposed by Humbach in his note to this passage. It would seem to be derived from *yam-/yā-*.
[9] Or in some other meaning of the genitive, *uzrātiš* cannot be explained, unless it is a cognate of what we read further as **uzvarəenō*, and should be emended accordingly.
[10] *uzvarəena-*, if the emendation is correct, would be derived from *varəna-* "conviction", with a negating effect of *us-*, as in *uzuštāna-, uzbaoδah-*. A thematic form *vara-* from *var-* "to choose, believe" may constitute the positive counterpart.
[11] The context does not make it possible to determine what reading and sense are most suitable for *dahišn/jahišn* here.

60. *1.* The idea of this saying is reminiscent of Matth. xvii 20. It also became current in Islamic literature; it occurs, for example, as a saying of Al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ (*Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, VIII, 112), and as a statement in the anonymous *Tafsīr* of Lahore (*Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk*, Teheran 1348, p. 19).

61. *1.* I take it that **XD** is here an ideogram for *ēw(ag)*.[1] It is possible that this spelling, which is often used for *yā-i vaḥdat* in Phl, should be regarded as representing the same ideogram, rather than -'y. J. Harmatta has suggested reading **XD** in the funerary inscription of Istanbul in Phl (*Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.*, XVII, 1969, 256). The ideogram is attested in MPers inscriptions, cf. the work of Ph. Gignoux on Sar Mašhad (*JA*, 1968, p. 402, line 37, and p. 410), and *Glossaire* s.v.

[1] So does also D.N. MacKenzie in his *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London 1971, 31 (as against an earlier statement in *BSOAS*, 30, 1967, p. 27).

62. *1.* The passage is far from clear. The word *sar* is here taken to mean "union, association", as in Man. Pth. ("community"), cf. Henning, *BSOS* 9 (1936/39), 87; also J. Scheftelowitz, *WZKM* 34 (1927), 223. At the same time it might be possible to suggest that the idiom *sar ō . . . bawēd* means "(his) head is towards. . .", in the sense of "he is directed towards, oriented towards, in communication with" or the like, thus dispensing with the introduction of an unfamiliar sense of *sar* into MPers. This idiom would be analogical to *rōy ō dēn kunēd* in **63**.

64. *1.* For a commentary on these terms cf. notes to **56**. The passage is given in *Esoteric trends*, p. 184, and earlier in Bailey, *ZorPr*, p. 102.

66. *1.* *darag*, apparently from *dar* "chapter", is attested also in *ŠGV* V 1 *daraa*. Cf. also *dar 10* in *DkM* 600.4; = B 476.14; = DK VII 1:44.

67. *1.* For *mādiyān* cf. above, 8. *1.*

67. *2.* The expression *kadām-jān-ez gōhr* "whatever (particular) substance" seems to be made explicit by the following passage, which enumerates the three natures of men.

68. *1.* Literally "third". The use of the term "third" in the sense of "middle one (between two), mediator" is quite well attested in Talmudic Hebrew and Aramaic, as has now been shown by E.S. Rosenthal in his article "Talmudica Iranica", to be published in S. Shaked (ed.), *Irano-Judaica*. Rosenthal also makes the observation that the term **sdyg** in *MirMan* II, 318 & note 3 has the same meaning. There we have two parallel passages which complement each other and which give the following composite text: **dryst 'wr 'ymydg 'y nyw. 'wd sdyg 'y my'n ['m'ẖ] 'wm'n pdr** "Welcome, good mediator, the middle one (lit. the third) between us and our Father". Henning in the note ad loc. refers to a passage in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, Berlin 1926, 95, where the same epithet occurs in a text which survives in two parallel versions, Parthian and Sogdian. Transliterated into the system commonly used today, the text would read: (Pth.) **'gd 'yy pd drwd. hrdyg wzrg ky 'ndrbyd 'm'ẖ 'wd pydr.** (Sogd.) **"γtyš pr zwky' 'štyk RBkw MN βγ'nγšyδ 'zrw'βγ' m'γ prwyδy.** This may be translated as follows: "You have come in peace, the great 'Third' (= mediator?), who are *between (?) us and the Father". The end of the Sogdian version may possibly mean: ". . .(you) who are our *solicitor with regard to the Prince of Gods, the god Azrua".
The difficulty here is created by the fact that Pth. **'ndrbyd**, corresponding to

Sogd. **prwyδ**, are both words of uncertain significance. Henning, who discussed the Sogdian word at length (*Sogdica* 50, and in more detail in *BSOAS* 11, 1943/46, 484f.), distinguished here a word of the juridical language, comparing it to another instance where the same Sogdian word occurs in a Manichean text with a MP parallel, and where the corresponding MP term, **hng'm**, is another unknown word. I believe that the MP idioms *hangām kardan, angām xwāstan* may be rendered in the two contexts where they occur as meaning "to solicit". Thus in the passage from the *Šābuhragān* we read: **'n'y ky pad 'šmẖ wn'st h'd h'nt'n d'dyst['n] qwn'n u 'ng'm xw'h'n** (Müller, *HR* II, 11; for the reading cf. Boyce, *A reader in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica, 3e série, vol. 2, Leiden-Tehran-Liège 1975, 78) "But whoever has sinned against you, I shall call him to justice and solicit for you". In the other MP text with a Sogdian correspondence quoted by Henning (loc. cit.) it seems similarly possible to translate: "And if I should find the justly deciding judge who would solicit for me against the tyrants and would not condemn me unlawfully". We recall here the idea of a judge who is deemed to be a solicitor for the destitute and righteous party, prominently displayed in the Sasanian title *driyōšān jādag-gōw ud dādwar* (cf. Shaked in *Mon. Nyberg*, 213ff.). *Hangām / angām* could be derived from *ham-kām-*, if this interpretation is accepted.
The idea of this passage occurs also in Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, ed. Constantine K. Zurayk, Beirut 1966, 33, where the author seems to attribute it to Galen (cf. the note by M. Arkoun in his translation of this book under the title *Traité d'éthique*, Damascus 1969, 54). If this is Miskawayh's thought, he might have derived it from an Iranian source.

68. *2.* "Education" should be understood in the sense of "chastisement, discipline".

68. *3.* *ōšmarišn* may have here the specific sense of "precept, duty". This connotation of the word is attested in the following passage: *ōšmarišn·***ī man ēd gōwišn barišnīh, sahēd ku-m kunišn ēdōn ī ō man pid-ez be framūd* (*DkM* 603.7-9; B 479.4-5; *Dk* VII 2:12)[1] "My duty is this, to carry out the speech. It is fitting that my action (should be) in such a manner even as (my) father bade me."

[1] Molé's translation (*Légende*, 17) is different.

69. *1.* This and the next passage are translated, somewhat differently, by Molé, *Culte*, 68 f. The translation of the passage is not certain. There

may be a case for translating "Not for apprehension or fear should a man try to escape from sinfulness"[1], i.e. only out of genuine conviction. But **70**, which is closely connected to **69**, should serve as evidence for excluding this translation: there the terms *andēšišn* and *tarsišn* are taken up and clarified, and it is clear that they are both used in a good sense. The solution may be found in the NP version, which takes *ne andēšišn* and the parallel expression *ne tarsišn* as descriptive compounds: "a man of no apprehension or fear", translating the whole passage: "People should seek remedy from the wickedness[2] of a man who has no apprehension or fear". This translation implies, however, that the phrase with the postpoisition *rāy* stands in a genitive relationship to what follows, which is unusual.

[1] Suggested by Prof. M. Boyce.
[2] The Np version reads here *abārōn-eš*, which is wrong.

70. *1.* Cf. *Esoteric trends*, p. 180, where, however, there is an omission in the transcription and translation. Cf. also **206** below for a parallel.

71. *1.* For the verb *wizustan* cf. Bthl., *ZAirWb*, pp. 209-214.

71. *2.* For *ōgārišn* cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 202 n. 3; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 373.

71. *3.* *was-abzār* seems to have the specialized meaning of "virtuous", like *abzārōmand* in **242**, **D 2**, **D 3**, **D 5**, and *AVn* I 9. For *abzār* in the sense of "power" or "mental faculty" cf. **C 83 b**. Cf. also a sequence of terms such as: *dānišn ud frahanag ud abzār* (*DkM* 11.22, where the first word is misprinted dxšn; B facs. 9.11) "Knowledge, education and virtue" (The translation by de Menasce is based on Madan's misprint, and should be corrected). Similarly: *mēnōg ruwān bōzišnīh, gētīg-ez framāyišn ī frahang abzār ī abar dādār šnāsīh u-š kām warzīdārīh* (*DkM* 11.11-13; B facs. 9.3-4) "In *mēnōg*, the salvation of the soul, and in *gētīg*, the ordering of education and virtue concerning the knowledge of the Creator and the execution of His will".

71. *4.* I take it that *pazībāy-* is connected with *pazībāg(īh)* "Hypocrisy", for which cf. above, **47**.

71. *5.* For *škōhīh* cf. Henning, *ZII*, 9 (1933), 179 n. 1.

71. *6.* For *wanēgar* cf. Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971),195 ff. and Shaked in *IOS*, 4 (1974), 245 ff.

71. *7.* *angad* is attested in the sense of "complete; rich" in Man. Pth.,[1] not in MPT. It is, however, fairly extensively documented in Phl, and the basic sense which it carries is "complete(ly), entire(ly)", for example

in *GBd* 42.10, where it is spelled in all three MSS 'ngyt (= *anged*):[2] *u-š gēhān pad nēm-rōz a'ōn anged tom be kard ce'ōn šab ī tīrag humānāg* "He (scil. the Evil Spirit) made the world at noon so completely dark as like unto a black night." The vowel of the second syllable is rendered in the Pāzand version of *MX* also as a front vowel: *angidaī* in *MX* purs. I 14 (= II 28)[3], *angidī* in *MX* XIV 12 (= XV 36).[4]
In the general sense of "complete, perfect" we also have *DkM* 414.1 (= B 322.16): *angad dānāgīh* "perfect wisdom"; *āzādīh ī angad-burzišnīgīhā* (*PhlT* 132 §2). In the sense "rich" the word is attested, e.g., in *PhlT* 71 (*AdMah* §152): *angad mard*; 166 (*Xēm ud xrad* §19); *ZWY* IV 61: *angadīh*.

[1] Cf. Boyce, *Man. Hymn-cycles*, 182 s.v.; *MirMan*, III, 49 s.v.; Salemann, *MSt*, 54 f. For the word in Phl cf. Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 101 s.v. *hangatīh*.
[2] TD_1 fol. 16v 1; DH fol. 270r 18.
[3] Skt version: *ṛddhitva* "wealth, abundance".
[4] Skt version: *puṣṭi* "wealth, opulence".

73. *1.* The reading of this word, and the interpretation of the whole passage, are uncertain. The word was read *hu-pattōg* on the assumption that it might be connected to the verb *pattāy-*; the form *pattōg, pattōgīh* is attested quite extensively. Cf. *MX* purs. XV 53; *DkM* 342.9; 423.11; *Dd* XXXVI 18; as well as below, **E 29**. On the word cf. Bthl., *WZKM*, 19 (1915), 9 n.; *MirMund* III, 15 n. 2. Further references to texts can be found in the index to Zaehner, *Zurvan*, p. 472.
In *Dk* IX 5 we have a text which may shed some light on our word:

> *ud didīgar hān ī nūn ka-š xrad ud frahaxt-uzwānīh ud tuxšāgīh ud pattōg-kārīh ī hēnd zīndagīh kārīgēnīdārān abāg, u-š ēn 5 a-kārīgēnīdār abāg nēst, āzwarīh ud ō-pattōgīh (?) ud ašgahānīh ud rēdīh ud abārōn marzīdārīh* (*DkM* 789) "Secondly, when now one possesses wisdom, well-trained[1] speech, diligence and permanence, which are the factors of life, and one is devoid of these five negative factors, (namely,) greediness, lack of permanence, sloth, filth and sinful sexual intercourse."[2]

The word transcribed in *Dk* IX *ō-pattōgīh* is spelled in the same manner as our word here; in the passage of *Dk* IX it is clearly a negative concept, the opposite of *pattōg-kārīh*, which may perhaps be rendered literally "permanent action". If it can be assumed the *ō-pattōgīh* (or *ana-pattōgīh*?) means "lack of permanence", as it seems to do here, it may be suggested that our sentence in 73 be translated: "Be impermanent in calamity", in the sense of "do not lin-

ger with the thought or memory of calamity". It need hardly be pointed out that this interpretation is shaky. The text may be corrupt.[3]

[1] The correct reading may perhaps be *friyād ud uzwānīh* "help and eloquence", although I am not sure that *uzwānīh* can indeed mean that. On the other hand, one would expect five terms in the first list to correspond to the second.
[2] Cf. West, *SBE*, XXXVII, 177.
[3] Another possibility of reading, *ōftag* (accepting the reading of B), need not be taken seriously. B often offers inferior readings, and the form *ōftag* should surely be regarded as *lectio facilior*. A further suggestion may be to read *[nil huftag*, for which corruption cf. *ŠnŠ* II 9 (and Tavadia's note *ad locum*). The sense obtained by *nihuftag* "hidden" is not very good.

73. *2.* The last phrase of this section is incomprehensible, and is probably corrupt. It is possible to think of certain emendations, which would require little change in the original text. For *astānag* one may suggest *astawānag* "one who professes (the faith)". This emendation would entail reading the same written word differently in the second occurrence, and assuming that there is a play on words here: *abē-astawānag* "a man who does not profess the faith" with a play on *astānag*. If, however, we accept a reading *ō-pattōg* (or *ana-pattōg*): "Be impermanent in calamity, do not hold on to calamity", we might read further: *ce abē-astānag mard dēwān-xwēš [ne] bawēd* "for a person without calamity does not belong to the demons". Both these emendations are speculative and doubtful.

74. *1.* *ābār, ābārag* seems to have three basic meanings: (a) "exiled, vagrant", (b) "lost, taken away, robbed", (c) "booty". The three meanings are so close to each other that there seems to be no reason to stipulate different words. All meanings are attested in connection with the NPers word *āvār(a)*, the Armenian loan-word *avar*,[1] and their cognates. The NPers word should thus serve as an indicator for the correct reading of the Phl word.[2] The etymological explanation remains doubtful,[3] as the word in question cannot be derived from the verb *appurdan, appar-* "to take away by force, rob".
The basic references for the Phl word are, apart from *Dk* VI, the following: *PhlT* 56 (*Xus.* §6)[4]; 76 (*Wehzād* II §20); 14 (*Ayādg. Zar.* §101); *JāmNām* XVI 30; *ŠnŠ* IX 8[5]; *GBd* 212.3; *ZWY* IV 7.[6]
A denominative passive form *ābārih-* is attested in *Dd* IX 2.

[1] For etymological comments on the Armenian word cf. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 212; Hr. Ačaŕean, *Hayeren armatakan baŕaran*, I, Erevan 1971, pp. 355 f.
[2] D.N. MacKenzie, *Phl Dict.*, reads this word as *appārag*, connecting it evidently with the verb *appurdan*.
[3] Cf. Horn. *GrNpEtym*, 13; Hübschmann, *PersSt*, 9 f.
[4] Cf. Kanga in *Sanj Vartaman Annual*, 1948, p. 3, n. 5.
[5] Cf. Tavadia's note 20-21 *ad locum*.
[6] *ābārag*.

76. *1.* The meaning of this section is obscure, and the translation offered is extremely doubtful. It has been assumed that *ēwagānag* may also mean "in agreement with". It is attested in Phl as well as in NPers in the sense of "submissive, loyal",[1] and in this sense the section could also be translated: "Every person should enquire the reason for (his) not (being) submissive as well as for (being) submissive". This translation, like the one offered above, is unconvincing both because the syntax is unsatisfactory and because the general sense obtained is somewhat unlikely.

[1] Cf. D.N. MacKenzie, "The vocabulary of the Lahore *Tafsīr*", *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, p. 417 f.

77. *1.* An earlier publication of 77 and 78 is in Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, pp. 196 f. The present version differs in some points from the earlier one.

78. *1.* Cf. note to the preceding section. A somehwat loose paraphrase of certain points from this text is in *Sad-dar Bundahiš* ch. 2 (cf. Dhabhar, *Sad-dar Naṣr*, Bombay 1909, 70 ff.).

78. *2.* We have here a triad of deities: Wahman – Srōš – Spandarmad, the same as the one that occurs in section **1b** above. They were obviously chosen to represent three complementary aspects of Man's religious behaviour: ardent activity, friendliness, generosity and helpfulness (Wahman); self-discipline, truthfulness and moderation (Srōš); reverence, withholding of passion, and preference for the spiritual world (Spandarmad).[1]
In explaining this triad of deities it may be pointed out that, as B. Geiger noticed,[2] Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti are a very close couple. The full triad may, however, derive its meaning from such a context as is encountered in the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*, where Wahman, Ardwahišt and Šahrewar stand to the right of Ohrmazd, Spandarmad, Xurdad and Amurdad to his left, and Srōš in front.[3] Wahman and Spandarmad thus represent the two groups of the right and the left respectively, while Srōš represents the middle in this arrangement.

[1] The same basic characteristics are attributed to the spirits in *Saddar Bd* II (ed.

Dhabhar, 70 ff.: trsl. in *PersRiv Hormazyar*, trsl. Dhabar, 505 ff.), where, however, all the Amahraspands are listed in addition to Srōš.

[2] Cf. B. Geiger, *Die Aməša Spənta*, Wien 1916, 241 ff.

[3] *GBd* 163.3-5.

78. *3.* Note the misspelling **BYN** for presumed original **xwgl** = **'ndl**, and cf. above, **48** *2.*

78. *4.* **ne-angad *wehān*: this seems to be a better reading than the one offered in *Esoteric trends.*

78. *5.* *pan* was omitted because it is written in the same way as the preposition *pad*. The word is rarely encountered in the singular; cf. *DkM* 311.10 (= B 238.7), where *pan* (**pn'**) occurs in opposition to *rād* "generous". The word is discussed by Zaehner in *BSOS* 9 (1937/39), 317, where further references are given.

78. *6.* *āhīd* is discussed by Zaehner, *BSOS* 9 (1937/39), 315 f.

78. *7.* *bawandag-menišn* possibly means in the context "staid, solid, stable". This would be in opposition to *sabuk-menišn*, which presumably implies "volatile, unstable", and in harmony with the qualities that follow: not easily aroused in anger, sticks to the things of the gods, even though he has acquired much of the things of this world.

78. *8.* For the phrase that enjoins seeking reward from the spirits cf. above **13.**

79. *1.* This section is transcribed and translated by M. Boyce in *Pratidānam ... Studies Presented to F.B.J. Kuiper*, The Hague 1968, 203 f. On Rapithwin cf. M. Boyce's article, "Rapithwin, Nō Rūz, and the feast of Sade", op. cit., 201-215. Cf. also Darmesteter, *ZA*, I, 26. The rules concerning the recitation of Rapithwin are given in *PersRiv. Hormazyar*, I, 316.2 ff.; trsl. Dhabhar, p. 300 f.

80. *1.* For the correct translation of the last sentence cf. Bthl., *WZKM*, 29 (1915), 41.

81. *1.* The reading and interpretation of *pōzīh* are somewhat doubtful.

82a. *1.* The word read here *ragīh* forms a problem. Its occurrence in this form and context seems unique in Pahlavi,[1] but its sense can be deduced with a fair amount of certainty from the context: it indicates the part of the person which is capable of making a choice in the religious sense. It looks like

the psychological, or subjective, counterpart to the "objective" fact that the person serves as a dwelling-place for good or bad spirits.

As for interpreting the word, there seem to be two possibilites: either as an abstract (?) form of *rag* "vein", or as a loan-word. Taking the second possibility first, it may seem possible to suggest that Aramaic rgš "sense, sensibility" (cf. Syriac *regšā* and cognates in Babylonian Aramaic as well as in Ancient Aramaic) affords a reasonable basis for such a Pahlavi word (if we read the Phl form rgš, which is possible); or alternatively that Aramaic rgg (Syriac *reggəθā* and cognates) "desire, lust" etc. might serve to explain a form **regyā, ragīh* "desire", but both explanations strike one as being far-fetched.[2] Explaining *ragīh* as from *rag* "vein" is also beset with difficulties. The abstract ending does not strike me as a suitable morpheme for effecting the transformation of a word from "vein" to "inclination" or the like. By itself, however, *rag* may be considered a conceivably appropriate word to be used for "disposition". I owe to Prof. D.N. MacKenzie the suggestion that we have here an analogy to Latin *vena* which covers both senses. The usage of Persian itself can show that this semantic association is correct. It is sufficient to refer to such expressions as *bī-rag* "heartless", *bad-rag* "a man of bad character";[3] or to the following random quotations:

mən ci gūyam yak ragam hušyār nīst
šarḥ-i ān yār-ī ki ūrā yār nīst (Rūmī, *Maθnavī*, ed. Nicholson, I, p. 10 l. 130)
"How should I – not a vein of mine is sensible –
describe that Friend who hath no peer?"[4]

guft bā x^{v}ad hast-aš andar mayz u rag
tūy bar tū būy-i ān sargīn-i sag (*Maθnavī*, IV, v. 174)
"He said to himself: He has in his brain and veins,
one fold upon another, the smell of that dog's dung."

kunūn hər-ci mən dādam andar jahān
na-yāyad āzār az-ān mardumān
*ki *vāy-ī[5] battar mardumān mī-kušad*
rag u jān-i šān az badan mī-kašad (Darmesteter, *ZA*, II, 68 n. 16, quoted from *Grand Rivâyat*, 124)
"Now whatever I created in the world, no harm comes from it to people. The bad Vāy kills people, and draws out of their body their *rag* and their soul."

Here Darmesteter translated *rag* by "sang", but it may also be translated, as a guess, by "the life principle" or a similar concept.

One somewhat uncertain occurrence of *rag* with a similar sense in Pahlavi is at the beginning to the treatise on the manner of writing epistles (*Abar ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsišnīh*):

> *nūn nibēsihēd pad sazēd-nibištan nāmag-ē ō kas kas *xwadāyān, ō pādexšāyān ud mehān ud abarmānīgān*[6] *[ī] hamē pērōzgar, ō kerdārān [ī] hamē farrox-tar, ō awēšān ke pad harw āfrīn arzānīg hēnd, *jahišn-pānag*[7] *ud jād[ag]-hayyār,*[8] *ō*[9] *bandagān ud azeš-kehān [ī-š] rag anōš-ayyād,*[10] *[ke] az anōšag-ayyād [rag?] andak frāz dāšt ēstēd [ī] āz-armīg-tom ud grāmīg-tom* (*PhlT* 132 §1)[11] "Now a letter is written in the correct manner to each one (of the following: to) lords; to rulers, dignitaries and overseers, ever victorious; to those who act, ever fortunate; to those who are worthy of all praise, protected by *fortune and favoured by fate; to (one's) servants and subordinates, whose character is of sweet memory, of whose sweetly-remembered [character] a little is retained which is most honoured and which is dearest".

rag seems to signify here something like "character, inclination" – a meaning very close to the one we have in our own text, although the form of the word with an abstract ending is still puzzling.

[1] What might suggest itself as the same word in *Dk* VII 2:31 is almost certainly a combination of words. The text there reads: *ce nēwagīh ī cis az* lk " yx (*DkM* 606.11; B 481.19; read correctly by Molé, *Légende*, 20) "for the goodness of a thing is due to you", and the last word should be read *to weh*.

[2] On various doubtful loan-words from Aramaic in MPers. cf. Shaked in *IOS*, 4 (1974), 250.

[3] The two words are used in the colloquial language too; cf. Sayyed Moḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-Zāde, *Farhang-e loγāt-e 'āmiyāne*, Teheran 1963, s. vv.

[4] Nicholson's translation.

[5] The MS has *nây*, Darmesteter's emendation.

[6] For *abarmānig* cf. *PhlT* 62 §57, incorrectly translated by Zaehner (cf. note 11 below, p. 101 note b; also in R.C. Zaehner, *The teachings of the Magi*, London 1956, 104): *an-āmurzīd mard abarmān pad zindān ma kun. wizīdag wuzurg mardom ud hušyār mard [ī] pad band abar band zindānbān kun* "Do not appoint a merciless man as an overseer of a prison. Make a selected great man and an intelligent man who is in the prison a prison-warden over the prisoners".

[7] Written like *yazdān-pānag*, which is possible, but seems to me unlikely; cf. the frequent *jahišn-hayyār*.

[8] *šahr-hayyār*, the apparent reading of the editor's text (but not of MSS DP and Ta), makes no sense.

[9] This is preceded by *ō azeš-kehān anōš ayyād rag anōš*, which is evidently a copyist's error, probably meant to be crossed out when the scribe started with the correct text again.

[10] For *anōš* "sweet", as distinct from its homonym "immortal", cf. Hübschman, *Pers. St.*, 19, No. 128. It is clearly impossible to interpret the words in the text as meaning "alert and unforgetting minds" (Zaehner).

[11] R.C. Zaehner made an edition of this text in *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 93 ff. Our reading is quite different.

82a. *2.* The explanation of the process how an ethical choice is reached differs in this passage from those encountered elsewhere in this book and in other texts. The typical Zoroastrian explanation is the one given, for example, in 78, according to which the choice is an expression for the presence in Man's "body" of a particular spirit. Here we have some organ or faculty of the person which makes the choice.

82b. *1.* It is possible, with a slight emendation, to read **husāzag*, the second word being attested also in **E 43e** below, as well as in *PhlT* 39 (= *Apēš* II §3); p. 93 (*AW* §92); *Zs* XXVII 4; and in Pāzend as *xūb-sāz*, with the opposition *duš-sāz* in *Schulgespräch* §11-12. A verbal form *hūsažihaṯ* "to be suitable, fitting" is attested in *ŠGV* IX 38. The word *husāzagīh* evidently means "cooperation, adaptation", and the definition that follows in our section would favour this reading, as it places the stress on not doing things "differently", the person thus described knows how to conform to other people. Despite these considerations it has been decided to retain the reading of the manuscripts and to assume that we have here a compound *gētīg-handāzag*, to which the definition given can be seen to be more suitable.

83. *1.* Of serveral possibilities of translation applicable to this passage, the one offered here seems to do justice best to the syntax and also to convey some meaning, but it is by no means certain. The text may be corrupt.

86. *1.* It hardly seems possible to read this word differently; it is presumably an adjectival form of *abāyēd*, with a privative. Sogd. **np'k(h)**, Chr. **np'q** "prisoner; pledge" (Henning, *BSOAS*, 28, 1965, p. 248 n. 37) appears unsuitable.

87. *1.* For *parwānag* cf. Bthl., *WZKM*, 25 (1911), 390 ff. A detailed discussion by B. Geiger in S. Krauss, *Additamenta ad Aruch Completum*, rep. New York 1955, p. 338 s.v. **prwwnq'**. Cf. also Telegdi, *JA*, 226 (1935), 251 and G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*, Köln 1960, 27, 34, 98, where loan-word forms are quoted.

88. *1.* The material *amahraspands* are the material counterparts to the series of deities, and they form a list of original Zoroastrian "elements" of

the world. If we exclude Man, whose equivalent in the spiritual world is Ohrmazd, this list consists of the following: cattle, fire, metals, earth, water and plants. For the *Amahraspands* as representing elements cf. Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras*, 123 ff.; I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, 10-12. An attempt by L.H. Gray, "The double nature of the Iranian Archangels", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 7 (1904), 345-372, to show that the elemental aspect of the Amahraspands preceded their abstract nature was criticised by B. Geiger, *Die Amə̄ša Spəntas*, Wien 1916, 123 ff. See most recently M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Leiden/Köln 1975, 203 ff. The elements are also mentioned in 288.

89. *1.* The idea of this section, that the body has desires, but that it is in the best interests of the person to disregard them and to prefer the needs of the soul (which are taken to conflict with the former), is echoed also in a Sasanian seal, Berlin 2179,[1] which should be read: **tny ZY KBYR k'mk lwb'n XZYTN** (= *tan ī was-kāmag ruwān wēn*) "Covetous body, regard the soul".
A more complete and balanced statement on this topic is found in **25** above.

[1] Cf. P. Horn and G. Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, Berlin 1891, Tafel VI, p. 20, 39 f.

90. *1.* The phrase *ēg-eš srōš wāng ī pahlom barēd* could arguably also be translated "then his Srōš produces the best sound", but this may entail doctrinal consequences with regard to the relationship between this deity and Man which may not be warranted.

91. *1.* Avestan *hăm-vərətay-* "bravery, valour" is rendered into Pahlavi by what I would transcribe as *ham-mardābagīh*.[1] Zaehner,[2] followed by Dhabhar,[3] have transcribed the word *ham-mart-tāčōkīh* or the like. Bailey[4] has read the word **marčāpukīh*, from a presumed compound form *mart-čāpuk*. He has been followed in this reading by MacKenzie.[5] This reading is, however, in divergence from the spelling, which is quite consistently **mlt (w)-'p(w)kyx**. The form given here, first put forward by Mirza,[6] is based on the reading of the Pāzand which is, for the full compound, *hum mart aōki*.[7] This form would assume an element *-āb-*, perhaps derived, according to Mirza, from the verbal base *ap-* "to obtain", which may have been used morphologically in certain words.[8]
Whatever the reading and etymology, the meaning is fairly clear: "bravery" suits well in most contexts, and it is in line with the general character of the

texts in *Dk* VI that the word should acquire a spiritualized meaning here.
In *Dk* III 192[9] we have a system of four related terms denoting a social class or attitude, with various characteristics attributed to each one in parallel fashion. The four headings are: *āhrōnīh, sāstārīh, ardēštārīh, xwad-dōšagīh*, forming two pairs, the first one characterized as "pure" (*abēzag*), the second as "mixed" (*gumēzag*), terms which seem to reflect a distinction such as applies to *mēnōg* and *gētīg*. The relevant point for our discussion in that chapter is the contrast between *hunarān* "virtues" for the good terms, and *āhōgān* "vices" for the bad ones. The oppositions are defined as follows:

(For *āhrōnīh*) *andar hunarān pad xrad*
(For *sāstārīh*) *andar āhōgān pad duš-āgāhīh*
(For *ardēštārīh*) *ud andar hunarān abar tagīgīh hān ī mardān ham-mardābagīh*
(For *xwad-dōšagīh*) *andar āhōgān pad xwad-dōšagīh*

We have wisdom against ignorance in the first pair, and bravery against "self-love" in the second. The connection between wisdom and *mardābagīh* figures also in **311, 312** below. The two terms can be seen to occur in **91** too, though in a larger list; from *Dk* III 192 it may be deduced that they were arranged, at least in one scheme, as representing the virtues of the two ruling classes, the priests and the warriors.

[1] Bthl., *AirWb*, 1810 f.
[2] *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 314.
[3] *PhlY & Vr*, Glossary, 32.
[4] *ZorPr*, 84, footnote.
[5] *Glossary*, 54.
[6] In his London University Ph.D. thesis, 1940, p. 486, n. 49.
[7] *PāzT* 265.23; corresponds to *ZXA* 251.6.
[8] *wēnābdāg*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 7 (1933/35), 81 f., and Mirza, *ibid.*
[9] *DkM* 203 ff., B facs. 158 ff.; Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 303 ff. and *Zurvan*, 374 ff.; Molé, *Oriens*, 13/14 (1960/61), 15 f.

91. *2.* *ruwān* and *dēn* are here complementary terms. In the same formula "(solely) for the sake of..." we often encounter the term *ruwān* alone, for example in **153** below.

91. *3.* Apart from its use as the *nomen actionis* of *nigerīdan*, *nigerišn*, especially in the phrase *pad nigerišn* or in the adjectival form *nigerišnīg*, means "circumspection, deliberation", or adjectivally "intentional, deliberate; careful, circumspect". This meaning emerges very well from a few examples collected by B.N. Dhabhar[1] in connection with the word *sūdagīh*

"negligence", where *nigerišnīh* comes as the opposite term. One of the examples given there may be quoted here, if only to propose a somewhat different reading: *xwāstag ī az mard pad *sūdagīg ayāb pad nigerišnīg wināh pad-eš ābārihēd ud saxwan ī pad-eš (DkM* 748.11 f.) "Property which is lost to a man through a sin of negligence or through intentional sin, and words concerning that". The contrast between the two terms in this and the other examples adduced by Dhabhar is nice and clear. In *Dk* VI C 83d the sense of "deliberate" comes out with particular force. This is also the sense of *wināh ī nigerišnīg* in *PhlT* 87, 90(*AW* §4, 45),which is reminiscent of the term in *DkM* 748, just quoted. A similar usage is evident in *AVn* XXXVII 4-7, where there is talk of afflicting the fire *pad nigerišn*, no doubt an instance of "intentional sin".

The other shade of meaning of this term is "careful, well guarded, well thought out". To this category we should assign our text, **91**, as well as its occurrence in such a maxim as: *saxwan ī weh pad nigerišn gōw* (*PhlT* 63, *AdMah* §59) "Utter good speech carefully". Here also belongs the sentence: *pādefrāh pad nigerišn kun* (*PhlT* 63, *AdMah* §69) "Give punishment carefully", that is to say, give it with restraint, and not, as Bartholomae sought to understand it, "give punishment only upon evidence".[2] Bartholomae believed, indeed, he could establish here a legal technical term for "evidence", but of the two passages in *MHD* where the word allegedly occurs one (78.6, 7) is too mutilated to allow any interpretation, while in the other *nigerišn* does not occur at all, being merely introduced by Bartholomae as an emendation, unjustified to my mind. The text should read: *farrox* (p') *nakkīrā pad ne ēdōnīh ī hān hamāg ciš ēdōnīh ī xwēš ābāyēd guftan* (*MHD* 6.4 f.)[3] "Farrox, denying, should say that that whole thing is not so, and that (the object) belongs to him".

In support of this interpretation we may refer to another passage[4] where the same situation is described, without using the debated word. An omission of *nakkīrā* "denying, repudiating" is easy to understand, as the word does not fulfil any essential function, whereas if we had here such an essential term as "evidence", as Bartholomae would have it, its omission would be puzzling.

The use of *nigerišn* as "carefulness, circumspection" is also apparent in such phrases as: *yazišn ud azbāyišn ī yazdān xūb ud pad nigerišn kun* (*MX* XXX 5)[5] "Do the worship and ritual of the gods well and with circumspection". *ke pad-nigerišn-tar ud pānag-tar abāyēd dāštan* (*MX* XXVIII 2)[6] "Whom should one keep most carefully and watchfully?"

One also encounters *nigerišnīh* in a looser usage, as denoting "thought(fulness), mind(fulness)", for example in the phrase: *pad wuzurg-nigerišnīhā rādīh* (*DkM* 293.7) "through high-minded generosity", which stands in opposition to: *pad gašnag-menišnīhā panīh* (*DkM* 293.11)[7] "through petty-minded stinginess".

[1] *Essays on Iranian subjects*, Bombay 1955, 138 f.
[2] *ZSR*, II, 36; Bthl. is followed in this interpretation by Pagliaro, *RSO*, 10 (1925), 475.
[3] *ZSR*, II, 5; cf. now Perikhanian, *Sudebnik*, 17 f.
[4] *MHD* 13.16-14.2.
[5] A similar phrase occurs in *MX* XXXI 6.
[6] The phrase recurs somewhat differently in XXVIII 4. The Sanskrit version has the literal *nirīkṣitataraṁ*, for *nigerišn-tar*.
[7] Both these phrases are quoted and discussed by H.W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, 26 (1963), 70.

91. *4.* This part of the section is translated by J. de Menasce in his article "Le protecteur des pauvres dans l'Iran sassanide", *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Teheran 1963, 283. One should not, of course, translate the last phrase "pour l'âme de celui-là".

92. *1.* *dastwar* in the sense of "authority, law" is well attested in *Dk* VI, cf. Index. Etymologically it is no doubt connected to Pth. **dst** "capable of, able". *dastwar* has been discussed by Bthl. in *zSR*, I, 26 f.; Bailey, *ZorPr*, 160, note 5.

93. *1.* A partial parallel to the first part of this section is found in Misk., *JX*, 39.17-18.

93. *2.* The expression *xwēš-wastarīh* is reminiscent of *PhlVd* VI 51: *xwad-wastarg*, a translation of Av. $x^{v}\bar{a}.stairiš$- "sein eigenes Lager bildend" (Bthl., *AirWb*, 1878), which occurs, however, in a totally different context, that of the disposal of the dead.

93. *3.* The reading and translation of this word constitute a mere guess. One is tempted, however, to think of the word **dmšn** which presumably reflects a verb "to have an evil effect, to issue (in a bad sense)";[1] **dmn**- may be an adjective derived from the same verb, giving as abstract noun "bad issue" or the like. D.N. MacKenzie suggests taking the word from **damawana-* > **damōn*, with a meaning like "breaking up the home". The word occurs also, in a similar context, in **256**. A similar looking word in *DkM* 343.8 is to be read *ham-zamanīh* "at the same time".

[1] Cf. Shaked, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 97-99.

93. *4.* Or possibly *duš-šarm gōwišnīh* "shameful talk"?

94. *1.* A parallel to this section occurs in **E 11.**

95. *1.* Cf. a similar idea in **C 79.**

96. *1.* The translation is uncertain.

97. *1.* The word *šnāyišn* is fairly common in the Pahlavi texts, and occurs also in *Dk* VI several times.[1] For a context like ours it may be useful to compare as an example a passage where it comes in an eschatological association:

> *pad ham-zamanīh (ī) abāg ahlawān āsānihād ud šnāyihād pad hān ī abar-tom āsānīh [ud] šnāyišn* (*DkM* 343.8-9; B facs. 263) "At the same time he will be made happy and satisfied with the righteous in the supreme happiness and satisfaction."

[1] Cf. also above, commentary to the Opening Section.

99. *1.* What is meant by *wizīdārīh* can be defined by reference to **64**: "To know good and evil; to do that which is good and to abandon that which is evil".

100. *1.* Cf. Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft* 37 (not quite accurate).

100. *2.* The term *juttar* "something evil, perverse", is well attested in this and the next section. It occurs also in several other passages in Pahlavi. A detailed study of its usage is planned in a forthcoming publication.

100. *3.* For the use of *ēnyā* as a conjunction cf. MPT 'n'y, and **D 7d.** *1.* Reading according to the spelling in the manuscripts, *ēg-eš*, would not be meaningful. Similar cases where **ADYN**(š) is written for *ēnyā* occur in **231** (twice) and **308.**

101. *1.* *pēšār* (or *pēšāl*) is attested a sufficient number of times in *Dk* VI, though I have no record of its occurrence elsewhere. A comparison of the passages shows that it is best taken as qualifying the evil action, rather than the doer. It would thus have no connection to *pēšār* "leader". As for etymology, it may seem best to derive it from **sard-*, cf. OInd. *śardh-* "to show strength, be bold; fart", with which Gāth. Av. *sarədana-* "contempt", MPT syr- (from **srdya-*) "to be angry", have been connected. Cf. Bthl., *Mir-Mund.* 6.36 f.; Henning, "Verbum", 205; Mayrhofer, *Kurzg. etym. Wb. d. Altind.*, III, 310. A form **pati-sarda-* might mean originally "bold, offensive, contemptuous", applied either to the evil act or to its perpetrator. The formation is reminiscent of such a form as *pīxāl* in NPers., which M. Schwartz[1] derives from *pati-xard-*.

[1] I am quoting from a hand-written addition to an offprint of M. Schwartz's review of Bailey's *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*, *JAOS*, 89 (1969), 444-447.

101. *2.* This sentence is transcribed and translated by Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 56.

102. *1.* The reading *ke mēnōg pad ēd-ez warrawēnd* is uncertain. For *ēd-ez* it may be possible to read *an-āz* "not greedy, benevolent" (?), and to refer to *PhlT* 96 (*AW* §150), 97 (*AW* §166). Cf. also below, **C 65.** An alternative reading may be *xwāb*, connected to Av. *hvāpah-*, and related to Phl. *xwābar* (Av. *x^{v}āpar-*); the meaning associated with this group could be "liberal, generous". Cf. I. Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 237, note 92.[4]

107. *1.* The text arouses suspicion of faulty transmission, as the sense it gives is not satisfactory.

108. *1.* This passage is quoted in *Esoteric trends*, p. 199, note 64.

108. *2.* Instead of *ox* "mind" one could read *hāwan* "mortar", which would go technically well with *haoma*, but would not be in line with the spiritualized interpretations given to the other notions.

109. *1.* The term *parwand* occurs also, in the meaning of a belt, in *Dd* XXXVIII 22, and in a verbal usage "to tie round" in *Dd* XXXIX 2; also in *PhlY* IX 26, for which cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 145. The employment of this term here is strongly reminiscent of the concept of *seyag* in the Talmud (e.g., *Abot* III 13). The Talmudic term means basically "fence, hedge", but is used symbolically for preventive and protective measures set up to preserve and enhance such abstract notions as the Law, wisdom, the Torah etc. A term analogical to *parwand* in Phl. seems to be *parisp* in **215, 216.**

109. *2.* *pēš-niyāyišn* is translated "homage" following the NPers. version.

110. *1.* If the text is not corrupt (and one does not see how it could be emended) it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the verb *ōbār-* is used in two opposite functions: in our context it means "making oneself full of patience, shame, or discernment", and in **29** and elsewhere the expression *gilag-ōbār* means "one who makes himself full of complaint (and does not let it

out)" > "uncomplaining". Although the effect of the two usages is contradictory, it does not seem likely that we have to do here with two different verbs.

110. *2.* This phrase occurs also in **13**, cf. commentary there for further parallels.

110. *3.* This phrase occurs also in **181.**

111. *1.* Note the construction for denoting exception: *az ēd ka... be.*

112. *1.* *gastag* seems to belong to NPers. and Pth. *gast* "ugly, unpleasant". The word is attested in OPers. *gasta-* and as a loan-word in Imperial Aramaic *gst*, cf. Driver, *Aram. Doc.*, glossary s.v. The word is related to *gand-* "to have an evil smell".[1] One wonders however whether we do not have here in effect the word *jastag* "accident", attested in **C 77** and **C 78** below. The saying would convey the idea that a man is to be held responsible for accidental (sins), for if he is righteous the gods preserve him from committing such accidents.

[1] Cf. the etymological discussion by Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 77 s.v. *gannāk-mēnūk*, where previous references are given, and Kent, *Old Persian*, 183 s.v. *gasta-*. Nyberg changed his mind on *gannāg mēnōg* in *Manual* II, 80.

113. *1.* This sentence occurs also in **118.**

113. *2.* Cf. Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 312.

114. *1.* The same saying occurs also in **E 45h.**

115. *1.* The same saying occurs also in **E 38a.** A shorter version is in **253.**

115. *2.* Literally: They come to no account.

115. *3.* Cf. above **22.**

115. *4.* This sentence seems like a distorted contraction of the parallel sentence about *xrad* in **E 38a.**

115. *5.* *hu-mihrīh* looks like the opposite of *mihr-druzīh.*

116. *1.* J.P. Asmussen, in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXVIII, Quaderno N. 160, Rome 1971, p. 274, sees the formula *dōšārm ud tarsagāhīh ud ēmēdag* as a borrowing from 1 Cor. xiii 13.

118. *1.* Cf. above, **113.**

119. *1.* The same saying occurs in **E 38b.**

120. *1.* A similar saying is in **E 38c**, and a partial parallel is in **194.**

120. *2.* The reading is not entirely certain, another possibility of reading being *niwāxtagīh*: the adjective without the abstract ending is attested in **B 14, B 19.** This latter word would be connected to *niwāzišn*, which is also attested (**189** [and see commentary there], **E 30b**). *niwāxtagīh* should mean something like "kindness, tenderness". *nihādagīh* seems, however, to occur also in **127**, where it comes in company with *burdīh* "patience". In **B 14** No. 22 the vice of excess corresponding to the virtue *nihādagīh* is *ōbastīh* "self-abasement". We also have the dual terms *hu-nihādīg* and *dušnihādīg*,[1] "good-natured" and "bad-natured" respectively, where the element *nihād-* seems to represent the notion of "temper, mental constitution",[2] and the same applies to *carb-nihādag* (*PhlT* 163.2) "of a soft disposition". There is nothing unusual in the fact that a word with a neutral connotation is used in a specially good sense, as we assume here with regard to *nihādagīh*; the same phenomenon is attested, for example, with the word *bōy* "smell", that is used without qualification in the sense of "good smell".[3] *nihādagīh* should of course be kept separate from *nihādag* "institute, pious bequest, sacred trust", on which B.N. Dhabhar collected several passages.[4]

[1] *DkM* 21.23; 22.19 ff. cf. Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 307 ff.
[2] This is the normal sense in NPers. e.g. in *ŠN*.
[3] *ŠGV* VIII 6: *u bōi u gand.*
[4] Cf. B.N. Dhabhar, *Essays*, 132-136 (previously published in *Khareghat Memorial Volume*, I, Bombay 1953). Cf. also Dhabhar, *PhlY*, p. 166. To the passages adduced by Dhabhar, *ZWY* IV 51 may be added.

120. *3.* For *ōgār-* "to remove, dispel" cf. *PhlT* 131 §4; *DkM* 359.16, 18, and the references given by Bailey, *ZorPr*, 202 note 3, and Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 373.

122. *1.* The phrase may be translated literally: "who keeps joy for his body (= himself) in the Reckoning", i.e. in the Final Judgment.

122. *2.* For the reading of this word one may rely on the NPers. version. The meaning emerges conjecturally from the various contexts, for which cf. the Index. The word is discussed by Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 315, and lately by A. Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 36 (1974), 113 ff., whose suggestion makes good sense.

123. *1.* The expression *māndag garzīdan* "to confess a sin" is discussed by Bartholomae, *ZKMirMund*, II, 32, 40 ff.; Waag, *Nirangistan* 126. It occurs also in *PhlT* 148 §40; *ŠnŠ* VIII 2; XII 22. *Kn* 2.26 has *pad *patītīg māndag hangār*. (Nyberg, *Manual*, II, 162, s.v. *pitīk*, is wrong.) Our passage is in Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft* 67.

124. *1.* *weh-dōstīh* could in principle denote either "friendship of the good", as translated, or "good friendship". The two occurrences of this compound in *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr* tend to favour the latter translation: *āzarm kadār [weh]? weh-dōstīh ud hu-šxōhīh* (*PhlT* 92 §77-78) "Which affection is best? Good friendship and bashfulness." The first element of *weh-dōstīh* seems to stand in parallel to that of *hu-šxōhīh*, where *hu-* is obviously an attribute of what follows and not a genitive element of a compound. *weh-dōstīh ka-š dahīg-kārīh nēst* (*PhlT* 93 §100) "Good friendship when it has no disorderliness". The contrast between the two notions is between friendship, hence harmony between people, and disorder, presumably in society. An emphasis on friendship to good people would seem to be out of place. The Arabic version has here merely *al-tawaddud* "friendship".[1]

> *nizārihistan ī frēh-būd [ud] abē-būd, wēš-zōrihistan ī paymān, rāmihistan ī *xwahlīh,*[2] *weh-dōstīh, meh-waxšišnīh ī (w) dēn dānāgīh...* (*DkM* 668.13-15; B facs. 518 f.)[3] "Excess and deficiency being made weak, the right measure being much strengthened, bliss being made joyful, good friendship, great increase of the knowledge of religion..."

Here we have *wēš-zōrihistan, meh-waxšišnīh*, which show the same construction as *weh-dōstīh*.

> *abēr-tar hu-xradīh ud hu-xēmīh ud hu-mihrīh ud hu-spāsīh [ud] hu-šarmīh ud ēmēd-warzišnīh ud rādīh [ud] rāstīh [ud] āzādagīh [ud] weh-dōstīh ('w) ud abārīg hunarāwandīh ud xwarr xwēš-kārīh...* (*DkM* 438; B facs. 342)[4] "Mostly good wisdom, good character, good love, good gratitude, good shame, doing the work of hope,[5] generosity, truth, nobility, other virtue,[6] splendour (which is) fulfilment of duty..."[7]

These passages would induce us to translate *weh-dōstīh* as "friendship", the first element being used as an emphatic element. Our passage and some parallels for this usage in *Dk* VI make it necessary to regard this as a compound with internal genitive relationship: we have as an opposite of *weh-dōstīh* the expression *weh-dušmanīh* "enmity to good people" (cf. Index); we have the expression *wehīh-dōstīh* (C 55), which is unequivocally "friendship of goodness"; we further have the twin parallel expressions *mardom-dōst[īh], mardom-dušman[īh];*[8] and, finally, in our context the reasoning "friendship of good people leads to possession of goodness" seems more sensible than "friendship leads to possession of goodness".

[1] Full details will be given in a planned editon of *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*.
[2] The word is spelled here xw'ylyx, instead of the expected xw'xlyx, which occurs, for example *MX* XXXVII 28; LVII 13. To translate, as Molé does here: "apaisement des non-Aryens" (reading the word *anērīh*) is clearly impossible: *rām-* has a definitely strong positive connotation. Aberrant spellings of this word occur in *DkM* 92.12 (xw'y'lyx), 15 (xw'lyx), correcly read by Molé, *Culte*, 43. An etymological discussion (not entirely acceptable) can be found in Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 137.
[3] Molé, *Légende*, 92.
[4] Molé, *Légende*, 112.
[5] That is to say, doing good work conducive to good hope for the other world.
[6] In 23 we have the series *rāstīh ud rādīh ud hunarāwandīh* which may perhaps be used to show that the word *abārīg* is not in place here: *hunarāwandīh* is there used in the sense of a definitive virtue.
[7] A partial parallel to this list is in D1a: *xēm ud mihr ud wehīh ud rādīh ud rāstīh* (qualities which fall under the category of *gōhr*).
[8] See index for references.

125. *1.* The text referred to as *abastāg ī pad camišn* may be the one underlying the Pahlavi text *zand ī gōmēz kardan* (*ZXA* 2 f.).[1] If the identification is correct, an allusion to connect that text with the notion expressed here that the word of a man who recites it comes well in the assembly may be found in its last phrase: *anjamanīgān narān ud māyagān yazēm* (*ZXA* 3) "I worship those assembled, male and female".

The expression *abastāg ī pad camišn* is found in *ŠnŠ* X 5; *ZXA* 57.13; Copenhagen Cod. 17 p. 62. 4, ed. by J. Hampel; *nask ī pad camišn* is in *ŠnŠ* III 9; *PhlVd* XVI 2.[2] Cf. further *PhlVd* XVIII 44. A text of *Avastā-yi camiš* is in *Xurda Avesta* in NPers., ed. Rustam Mōbad, Bombay 1867, p. 418. There is a possibility that MPT cmbyyšn belongs here; cf. Henning, *Sogdica*, 38.

[1] Cf. B.N. Dhabhar, *ZXA*, Introduction, p. 17 f. Cf. also Darmesteter, *ZA*, II, p. XXXIII, n. 1.
[2] Cf. Tavadia's note, *ŠnŠ*, p. 75.

127. *1.* For *nihādagīh* cf. above, **120**, note 2, and **B 14**, No. 22.

127. *2.* The expression *šōy-dōst* is ambiguous: it could also be rendered "loving her husband".

128. *1.* On *sag* as variant of *sang* cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 125, note. 1.

129. *1.* The passage has been transcribed and translated by A. Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 203,[1] who also discusses *kārān* "people". One significant passage about the usage of this word, where it comes parallel to *kasān*, is: *ud zadār ud bēšīdār ī kasān ud sazēnīdār ī kārān bawēd* (*DkM* 791.18-19) "And he becomes a tormentor and aggriever of people, one who causes them to pass away". The point of our passage is elaborated on in some detail in the next section, **130**.

[1] By translating *xwāstan* "invite" the point of the passage was lost.

131. *1.* An exact parallel to this saying is found in the tenth admonition of Ādurbād, *Dk* III 199.[1] An Arabic version of this saying is found in Miskawayh, and it helps in establishing the meaning:

> *wa-qāla 'alā kulli 'mri'in an yuṣliḥa min al-arḍi qadra bā'in, fa-iḏā aṣlahaḥu fa-qad aṣlaḥa jamī'a l-arḍi, wa-ḏālika l-bā'u badanuhu* (Misk., *JX* 39.3-4) "He said:[2] Every man should put in order a fathom's measure of the world. When he puts it in order, he has put in order the whole world. That fathom is his body".

ēw nay is thus taken by the Arabic translator to mean "a fathom". One wonders whether the word does not properly mean "a reed's length"?

[1] The text there is: *ud gyāg* [ī] *ēw nay andar ēw nay xwēš-tan be wirāyēd, u-tān hamāg gēhān wirāst bawēd* (*DkM* 216.17 f.; B facs. 169.11-12; misunderstood by Jackson, *Res. in Manichaeism*, 216) "Put in order the one-fathom place in one fathom, (which is) yourselves, (so that) you will have put in order the whole world". In the contrasting chapter, where Mani's admonitions are quoted against Ādurbād's, Mani is quoted as saying: *gēhān hagrez wirāst *ne bawēd, be-z pad ādur ī jāyēdān-sōz wišōbihēd* (*DkM* 218.14-15; B. facs. 170 f. Ādurbād's admonition is repeated in an abbreviated form in the preceding lines. Cf. Jackson, *Res. in Manichaeism*, 208 f.) "The world will never be set in order; it will perish by ever-burning fire".

[2] The person presented as the author of this saying is Buzurjmihr.

132. *1.* The passage is transcribed and translated (not quite accurately) by Molé, *Culte*, 427 f.

132. *2.* This sentence echoes the same idea as **129-130**. The text is treated by Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 203.

133. *1.* Reading the last word **hēm* we may translate: ' "He was here with good and bad people" was one who said [r. *ku*]: "I am with (them) in thought, speech and action." '

134. *1.* The reading and interpretation of this text are doubtful, and other, equally unsatisfactory, possibilities exist, for example: "Ohrmazd the Lord requires of every living man the following things: colour (*gōnag*), sound, sight, and memory".

141. *1.* *andarz [ī] ō mardomān* is presumably the title of an *andarz* collection; the title occurs also in *DkM* 834.19.[1] As the same saying occurs also in **E 30a**, one is tempted to surmise that that group of sayings may also have been derived from the "Andarz to men". The sayings **141-152** form a closely related group.

[1] Quoted Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 190 note 40.

141. *2.* For *nāw* cf. Av. *nāvaya-*, *AirWb*, 1064.

141. *3.* I take it that *damān* (?) is a participle form from the same verb as **dmšn**, on which cf. Shaked, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 97-99.

142. *1.* Cf. the contrasting section **144**, which is helpful in establishing the meaning here.

142. *2.* Cf. *cašmagīh ud tawānīgīh awe rāy ud kasān anāg* (**144**).

142. *3.* This sentence is briefly discussed by Menasce, *Mélanges Massé* 285.

142. *4.* Cf. the contrast: *andar awe ī driyōš ud hunsand mardom tarmenišn* (**144**).

143. *1.* **143-145** are summarized by Menasce, *Mélanges Massé*, 284 f.

144. *1.* Cf. the contrasting text in **142**.

145. *1.* Cf. the contrasting text in **143**.

151. *1.* *pad āwām* possibly means "at leisure", cf. note **C 57.** *1.*

153. *1.* The same saying, in a more extended version, occurs in **E 31g**.

153. *2.* On the word *pihw* cf. Bthl., *ZSR* I, 34 (Bthl. reads *pihan*); Bailey, *TPS*, 1956, 124 f. Other references are: *GBd* 221.6; *PhlT* 156 §6; 158 §18.

153. *3.* *wiškar* probably means properly "open space", cf. B. Sogd. **wyšk'rt'y**, **wšk'rtk** "(eyes) open", D.N. MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, 33(1970), 116 f.

156. *1.* *hugārīh*, though probably related to *hugar* "easy", seems semantically distinguished from it.

158. *1.* For the expression *kōdag kirbag*, which has a pejorative connotation, it may be possible to compare what may perhaps be read *kōdag ahlamōg* "petty heretic", as a term of abuse:

> *awēšān ī kōdag ahlamōg ēd ī tō sraw nasēnēnd abastāg [ud] zand ku nizār be kunēnd awēšān ī kōdag ahlamōg hān ī xwēš ruwān āzārēnēnd hān ī kōd xwāstag dōšārm rāy* (*DkM* 661.14-17; B facs. 512.21 ff.)[1]
> "Those petty heretics will corrupt your word, the Avesta and Zand – they will abase them – those petty heretics will injure their own souls for the love of petty[2] property".

An elaboration on the theme of *kōdag kirbag* is found in sections **159-161**.

[1] Cf. differently Molé, *Légende*, 84.

[2] I would take *kōd* as a variant of *kōdag*, and would read similarly in *Dk* III 365 §5-6, where *kōd* comes as a synonym to *nihang*; cf. Shaked, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 104 ff.

161. *1.* Cf. for the sense **158**; *abzār* is used here in a sense similar to that of *wēšīgān* (an observation of Dr. Gershevitch).

162. *1.* This section may elucidate the difficult text of *Pand Nāmag*: *ce ox a-winast, menišn [ud gōwišn ?] a-griftār, ud kunišn griftārōmand* (*PhlT* 45 §25)[1] "For mind is pure,[2] thought [and speech?] are unseizable, (but) action is seizable". We have here a similar hierarchy as is found in **162**, with *ox* most unaffected by external things. **162** adds that its situation does affect the outward expressions of human activity. The expression *a-winast*, with a context which makes use of *ox*, occurs also in **300**, which is, however, fairly obscure.

[1] Cf. Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, I, 22; II, 27 s.v. *a-vindīt*, where *ox a-winast* is read **sax^{u}an avindīt* "das Wort ist unerreichbar". The text occurs also in a translation by H. Corbin, *Poure Davoud Commemoration Vol.*, II, Bombay 1951, 129 ff.; Zaehner, *Teachings*, 20 ff.; M.F. Kanga, *Cīrak handarž i pōryōtkēšān – A Pahlavi text*, Bombay 1960; M. Nawabi, *RFLT*, 12 (1339), 513 ff.

[2] For *a-winast* cf. below, **300**. *2.*

164. *1.* A parallel to this saying is found in **259**. The motif of the sea symbolizing the concentration of some abstract notion is common also in Islamic literature. An example from Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Maṯnavī*:

> *ḥarf ẓarf āmad dar-ū ma'nā čū āb*
> *baḥr-i ma'nā 'indahu ummu-l-kitāb* (Bk. I, 296)
> "The letters are the vessel; therein the meaning is like water; the sea of meaning is: 'with Him is *Ummu l-Kitāb*' ".

167. *1.* For this phrase cf. **233**. The literal translation of the phrase *agar bazag pad bazag be brīnēnd* is not clear.

168. *1.* Cf. Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 56.

169. *1.* *a-cār* seems better taken as qualifying *wināh* than *mard*.

169. *2.* I should like to acknowledge the help of Prof. S. Pines in improving the translation of this passage.

173. *1.* For this expression cf. Imperial Aramaic **'rḥ mlk'**, as well as Syriac etc. The same expression possibly also in MPT **r'h 'y bg** (*MirMan* II, 305) with a Parthian form (?). Cf. E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his world*, Repr. New York 1974, I, 226.

173. *2.* For *nihānīhā* cf. the definition given in *Farhang-i Nafīsī* to *nihān*: *'āqilāne va hūšyārāne va bā-tadbīr*. In support of this it is possible to adduce *PhlT* 92 §66: *nihānīh ud āštīh-xwāhīh*, where the first term is rendered in the Arabic version by *al-waqār* "gravity, staidness, dignity".[1] Cf. also *PhlT* 56 (*AXus.* §8), as well as:

> *nihānīh hān bawēd ke hunar ud dānišn-abzār ī-š nēst dānēd ku-m nēst, pad xwāstan ō xwēš kardan abar tuxšēd ud zamān ī kār ud dādestān šnāsēd, harw dādestān tā zamān ī xwēš frāz ne kunēd. . .* (*PRiv Dd* LXII 21) "*Nihānīh* is this: one who knows concerning a faculty of virtue and knowledge which he does not possess: 'I do not have it', strives to make it his own, knows the time of an affair, and does not push forward each matter until its own time (i.e. until the last moment)". . .

[1] Cf. the forthcoming edition of *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*.

177. *1.* For the expression *xwāstag kardan* cf. **C 1** as well as **qdg 'wd xw'stg qwnyd** (*MirMan* II, 306.16).

178. *1.* A faithful Arabic version of this saying occurs in Misk., *JX*, 75.10-15, and in Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Al-adab al-ṣaghīr, Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, Cairo 1946, 26 f.

181. *1.* A variant of this phrase is in **13** (where the sin committed is qualified as *jahišnīg*); further parallels are mentioned in the commentary there.

181. *2.* Cf. **14** for a parallel to this phrase.

181. *3.* Cf. **13** for a parallel to this phrase.

181. *4.* Cf. 110 for a parallel to this phrase.

182. *1.* *ōstag* seems to belong to *ōstīgān*, though I do not know of further references.

182. *2.* Cf. 13 for parallels to this phrase.

182. *3.* Cf. 14 for parallels to this phrase.

182. *4.* Cf. 13 for parallels to this phrase.

183. *1.* A parallel to this idea occurs in 2 above.

184. *1.* It seems as if this saying puts awareness as a primary condition for existence.

186. *1.* *zāz* "grass" occurs in MPT (*MirMan* I, 182), and corresponds to NPers. *žāž*. It occurs as a loan-word in Aramaic, cf. z'z' (Bab. Tal. *Sab.* 20b) "dry weeds or branches", though B. Geiger[1] denies any connection. The word is attested also in Mandaic.[2]

[1] Cf. B. Geiger apud S. Krauss, *Additamenta ad. . .Aruch Completum A. Kohut*, reprinted New York 1955, 167.

[2] E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic dictionary*, Oxford 1963, 158 ("etym. doubtful").

187. *1.* Another version of this saying is in **E 10.**

189. *1.* A variant of this saying is in **E 30b.**

189. *2.* For *niwāzišn* cf. NPers. *niyāz*, one of the meanings of which is: *mayl va-x^{v}āhiš va-iẓhār-i maḥabbat* (*BQ* 2222[1]). Cf. also *Farhang-i Ānand Rāj*, s.v. *niyāziš*.

[1] Cf. notes ad loc., where the editor, M. Mo'īn, adduces *niyāziš* as a variant of *niyāz* in the same sense, but seems to find the form unfounded.

191. *1.* A much enlarged version of this saying is in **E 45i.**

193. *1.* A parallel is in **87.**

194. *1.* A parallel to this saying is in **120.**

197. *1.* *hunsand-xīr* properly means simply "content, satisfied". Here a certain play on words seems to be meant, implying that those who are satisfied (i.e. with wordly matters) are never satisfied with their spiritual achievement.

200. *1.* It is remarkable that we seem to have here an allusion to the practice of burial, which is expressly forbidden in Zoroastrianiam. The same

puzzle is presented by a tomb inscription at Eqlīd, cf. *Mon. Nyberg*, II 1975, 225 n. 75.

202. *1.* Cf. for *māndan* **37**, note 2.

204. *1.* Sections **204-205** are dealt with by Molé, *Culte*, 68. For **204-206** cf. Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 178 f.

204. *2.* *buxt* seems to indicate "vindicated; the winning party in a legal suit"; *an-ēraxt* is "acquitted"; *ēraxt* "guilty". Here a spiritualized interpretation is given to these legal terms. On *ēraxt* cf. Shaked, *Mon. Nyberg*, 261 ff.

206. *1.* Cf. Molé, *Culte*, 67; West, *SBE* XXXVII, 4 note 2. A similar division of mankind is in **70.**

206. *2.* *az* is here used in a partitive sense apparently. This usage is also attested for early NPers., cf. Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.*, §609, p. 395 f.

206. *3.* On *sūr* cf. Horn, *Grund. d. neup. Etym.*, 169; Tavadia, *J. Cama Or. Inst.*, 29 (1935), 13-15.

206. *4.* These are two instruments for beating which are used for legal punishment and are often mentioned in the *Vendidad*, the former as *aspahe aštrā*.[1]

[1] Cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, II, p. XVI ff.

206. *5.* The requirement to kill noxious creatures in expiation for sins committed is also frequent in *Vd.* Cf., e.g., *Vd* XIV 5 ff; XVIII 73 ff.

206. *6.* Viz., hell. The expression used for this in *PhlVd* is *dušaxw*, cf. for example *PhlVd* VII 52, where it is stated that a man's fate is to pass the time in hell (*dušaxw*) till resurrection if his sins are more numerous than good deeds; in the middle section (*hamēstagān*) if they are equal; and in paradise (*pahlom axwān*, the opposite of our *wad-axwān*) if the good deeds are more numerous. In *PhlY* LXXI 15 the expression *wattom axwān* (rendering *ačišta aŋhu*) occurs, contrasting here with *pahlom axwān*.

206. *7.* On the word *kūg* cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 6 (1930/32), 598 f. The word occurs in the passages adduced by Bailey qualifying concrete objects, but it is evidently used here to describe time.

206. *8.* For the last phrase cf. **E 35a.**

208. *1.* Cf. a parallel in **E 35b.**

208. *2.* Bartholomae[1] read this word *duwr*, connecting it with Old Church Slavonic *dŭbrŭ* "ravine, chasm", and he is followed in this explanation by Tavadia.[2] Nöldeke would presumably regard this word as borrowed from Aramaic *qaḇrā*, though his comments refer to NPers. *gōr*; cf. *PersSt* II (Sitzungsb. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Classe, CXXVI), Vienna 1892, p. 41. The word occurs in *GBd* 16.6-7: *pas az wiškīdagīh gawrīh bawēd, cašm ud gōš ud dahān* "after diffusion there is cavity, eyes, ears and mouth" (cf. Nyberg, *JA*, 1929, 284). M. Boyce has suggested that this is the same word as Parthian **gr'b**, MPT **gbr**, cf. *BSOAS*, 13 (1951), 912 n. 7. It seems to me however doubtful whether the narrow definition "womb" should be imposed on the word. The more general sense "cavity, depression, hollowness" certainly fits the passages in the Manichean writings which talk of **zmyg gr'b** (Pth., Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 116), or **gbr 'y zmyg** (MPT, *MirMan* I, 177).

[1] *ZSR*, II, 44 note 3.
[2] *ŠnŠ* III 12 note 3 (p. 77). The correct translation of the word there too seems to be "pit" or "cavity", not "tank".

209. *1.* This section forms a commentary on the preceding one.

210. *1.* Quoted by Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974) 243.

210. *2.* We seem to have here a "sandwich" construction, *pad warrawišn abar*, with *abar* serving as post-position.

211. *1.* *hu-bahr* "of good share" seems to be a mere dittography of *hugār*. It is not repeated, as is the case with the other terms, in the next phrase.

211. *2.* The emendation is far from certain, but reading *andak-ōzagtar*, as the text seems to require, "of least force" or the like, seems quite unlikely.

212. *1.* Quoted by Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 203.

214. *1.* Quoted and discussed in *Esoteric trends*, 211 f.

215. *1.* Sections **215-216** are quoted in *Esoteric trends*, 190 note 42. Some minor inaccuracies which occurred there are here corrected.

215. *2.* The theme of the seven walls surrounding a fortress occurs with regard to Kang-diz, cf. *GBd* 210.8 ff.[1] Three "strong walls" of the law are mentioned in E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, III, Berlin 1914, 34.

[1] Cf. A. Pagliaro, *RSO*, 18 (1940), 333 f.

218. *1.* Quoted by Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 238. An enlarged version of this saying is in **304.**

222. *1.* The simile here is reminiscent of **189**; the idea is basically the same as in **E 1.**

223. *1.* A similar idea of teaching by personal example occurs in **322.**

224. *1.* Quoted, somewhat differently, by Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 204.

224. *2.* The simile of the mirror is found in an Arabic version: *wa-qāla: kamā yanbaġī li-l-mir'āti an takūna aḍwa'a min al-nāẓiri fīhā, fa-kaḏālika l-imāmu l-mu'addibu yajibu an yakūna afḍala mimman ya'ummu wa-yu'addibu* (Misk., *JX* 39.5-6) "He (= Buzurjmihr) said: Just as the mirror should be more luminous than the one who looks into it, so the instructing master should be superior to the one whom he guides and instructs".

226. *1.* The expression *hangerd(īg)* which occurs also in *DkM* 289.19; 429.4 is not very clear. It is Molé's opinion that it does not refer to any particular book, but to the Mazdean canon of scriptures, which summarizes all knowledge.[1] In *ZXA* 190 §14 *hangerd-* is a reflection of Av. *hankārayemi*; cf. Darmesteter, *ZA*, I, 5 f.; *AirWb*, 447 f.

[1] *RHR*, 162 (1962), 211. The expression *hangerdīgīh* is used at the beginning of the eighth book of *Dk* to describe the summary of the Nasks of the Avesta (*DkM* 677.2).

227. *1.* Partly quoted by Asmussen, *Xᵘāstvānīft*, 56.

228. *1.* A more elaborate statement of this idea, which also occurs in other places, is found in **E 45b.**

228. *2.* Cf. **13.** *2.* above.

229. *1.* Cf. J. Tavadia in *J. Cama Or. Inst.*, 29 (1935), 13. Partly quoted by H. Junker, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921-22, p. 158 note 23, who construes it somewhat differently.

229. *2.* *bar* "fruit" is used in a fairly wide range of meanings in this single section: "outcome, result"; perhaps also "culmination" (*tan bar [ruwān]*); and also "goal" (*ruwān bar tan ī pasēn*).

231. *1.* I cannot interpret this word. What may be the same word occurs in *PhlT* 165 §14 **g'wl**, but the context there is not clear.

232. *1.* Or: "should be abandoned (?)". The word might conceivably be read: *dahīg* "a knave, a despised man", for which cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 6 (1930/32), 80 f., though both reading and interpretation would seem doubtful; the phrase here would then be translated: "A man who does perform it is a knave (?)". Incidentally, *dahīkīk* has been read by Freiman[1] in *PN* §43[2], where one should actually read *šāyēndag* "able, worthy".[3]

[1] *WZKM*, 20 (1906), 271.
[2] *PhlT* 47; cf. also Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 46. The sentence there may be translated: "and to them there will be fewer warrior children".
[3] Further references for this word, mostly describing offspring: *PhlT* 96 §148, 158 160; 97 §162; 158 §171. *MX* II 28; LI 3, 6, 7.

233. *1.* Cf. 167 for the same phrase.

236. *1.* Partly quoted in Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 195; here somewhat revised.

237. *1.* Quoted in Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 198.

237. *2.* The enclitic pronoun *-š* may here allude to the plural pronoun which governs the verb in the initial sentence: *u-šān ēn-ez a'ōn dāšt*. Cf. below, 253 note 1.

238. *1.* An elaboration on this theme is in A 5.

240. *1.* A NPers. version (not very accurate) is in *PersRiv Hormazyar* I, 487 lines 16 ff.; tr. Dhabhar, p. 334.

247. *1.* *āwāmīh* seems to mean something like "being on time".

248. *1.* The translation offered is very uncertain.

248. *2.* Or "fore-manifest", showing what will be in the future.

252. *1.* Literally: "never lets himself away from it".

253. *1.* *u-š*, with an enclitic pronoun in the singular, probably refers to *mardomān*; the singular pronoun seems to be used indifferently, as a universal pronoun (which explains the formation of the post-positions *az-eš, aw-eš, pad-eš*, which are indifferent as to person and number). Cf. also above, 237 note 2.

253. *2.* On *stī* cf. *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 89-97.

253. *3.* The section forms a coherent unit up to this point; there follow disconnected *abzār* sentences. The original chain, starting from *stī* "being" (?) to *ham-pursagīh ī wehān* "consultation of the good" indicates the movement from *mēnōg* to *gētīg*. The items that follow seem to be unrelated to this train of thought.

254. *1.* Quoted and discussed in Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 185 (here revised). Cf. also Bailey, *TPS*, 1960, 79.

254. *2.* *dahišn* "instruction, knowledge" – this is the reading suggested for this somewhat enigmatic word. The same graphic group in Pahlavi can be read in the following manners:

(1) *dahišn*, the nominal form connected with *dādan* "to give";
(2) *dāšn* "present, gift";
(3) *jahišn* "fate" (see C 82).
(4) *dahišn* (? – usually spelled **dxyšn**), the word under discussion.

A full discussion will be published shortly.

256. *1.* Cf. above, 93 note 1.

257. *1.* The word seems out of place; it is possible that it should actually be read *ud jeh*, as a gloss repeating *jehān zan*, the first word of which is ambiguous in the Pahlavi script (it is identical with *gēhān*).

257. *2.* If the reading of the passage is correct, the second sentence may be regarded as constituting a kind of evidence: as the ritual requirement of not leaving the *barsom* unattended is no longer observed properly, the death of young men has become common; hence the danger inherent in neglecting the first part of the section.

258. *1.* Quoted by Molé, *Culte*, 415.

259. *1.* Without supplementing *zreh* the following translation seems possible: "The sea of Iranian behaviour, of the perfection of the king of kings, and of religion, is the sacred word".

260. *1.* For *and* one may read **hōg* "habit".

264. *1.* This section is echoed in the eighth admonition of Ādurbād as given in *Dk* III 199. The text there is lacking, but can be reconstructed as follows: *[druz az xwēš-tan be kunēd] ce ka-tān az xwēš-tan be kard ēg-tān az hamāg gēhān be kard bawēd* (*DkM* 216.13-15; B facs. 169.9). That this is the correct restitution can be seen from the opposite chapter (III 200), which contains Mani's injunctions set against those of Ādurbād. The corresponding section is:

*ēwag padīrag hān [ī]ahlāyīh-ārāstār ādurbād druz az tan be kardan andarzēnīd, druz-astag *mānī mardom tan druz gandīd* (*DkM* 218.6-8; B facs. 170.15-16)[1] "One, against that which Ādurbād, the adorner of righteousness, instructed to drive away the demons from the body, Mani of demonic existence[2] caused a stench[3] by saying: the body of Man is a demon".

[1] Cf. Jackson, *Res. in Manich.*, 206 (where the translation is not quite accurate).

[2] This seems to be the correct translation, against Jackson's "the fiend incarnate" or "the crippled fiend", cf. *ibid.*, p. 209.

[3] The more usual verb which one would expect in such a context is *dawīdan* "to speak (daevic)". The verb is, however, consistently spelled here dwddt, which is not the appropriate spelling for *dawīd*. Besides, *dawīd* is applied as a rule to demons, not to wicked people. Another objection to this reading may be the fact that we want here a pejorative counterpart to *andarzēnīd* "to admonish, instruct", while *dawīd* would correspond to *guftan*.

264. *2.* Possibly one should read the verb, in view of the consistently irregular spelling of it here and in **265**, as *abaxšēd*.[1]

[1] This verb is somewhat puzzling. In most of its recorded occurrences in *GBd*, Ms. TD_1, which is undoubtedly the best witness (now fortunately available in facsimile edition, thanks to the initiative of the Iranian Culture Foundation), has *absihēnīdan, absihišn* (cf. *GBd* 169.2; 184.2; 185. 13; 217.5, and the corresponding text in TD_1). Ms. TD_1 has, however, *abaxš-* in the meaning of "to destroy" in two places: *GBd* 164.1 (= TD_1 68r 14) and 183.13 (= TD_1 77r 17).

264. *3.* The section is quoted in *Scholem Festschrift*, 230.

265. *1.* It might be better to read here **absihihēd*.

265. *2.* Summarized in *Scholem Festschrift*, 230.

266. *1.* The expression *juwānīh ī ruwān* seems puzzling. By an easy emendation one can make it to read *zīwišnīh ī ruwān* "the life of the soul", which may be more satisfactory.

267. *1.* The two questions form one theme, as can be seen from the answer.

267. *2.* This sentence is quoted by Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 312. The same allegorical use of the terms "kinsmen" and "aliens" occurs in the tenth admonition of Xusrō:

*ēwag zōr ud attān ō xwēšīgān-tān hayyārīh paywastan, ud az *anōdagān-tān (W) hamēmār *burrīdan* (*DkM* 219.21 f.; B facs. 172.2-3; *Dk* III 201) "One, (you should) associate power and might in a friendly manner to your kinsmen, and should cut[1] (them) away in rivalry from your aliens".[2]

The opposite chapter, which contains the demonic admonitions standing in contrast to those of Xusrō, does not provide a very clear counterpart, but the tenth admonition there may be helpful in determining the sense here:

ēwag sūdōmand dahišnān petyāragīh ud gurgān xrafstarān dōstīh ud stāyīdārīh āmōxtan (*DkM* 221.5-6; B facs. 173.1-2) "One, to teach enmity to beneficial creatures, friendship and praise-giving to wolves and noxious reptiles."

Here the two groups are given somewhat more explicitly, perhaps in a somewhat restrictive sense. The same theme is pursued above, in **43**, and also in **113**. An elaboration on the idea of "aliens" may perhaps be seen in the following section, **268**.

[1] The Ms. has blyt', i.e. *barēd*, but the slight emendation seems required by the contrasting parallel with *paywastan*.

[2] Cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 53.

270. *1.* Quoted by Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 203; partly quoted by Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 29 (1915), 41.

271. *1.* I take it that we have a denominative from Av. *yavaējī-* "living for ever". For the transcription of the first element I have followed that of *jāyēdān*.

272. *1.* *wināh ī mānēd* is reminiscent of the definition of *māndag* above, in **37**: *hān. . .ī be mānēd*, and one may have to strive to find a uniform translation for both contexts.

272. *2.* I take it that *pēšār* generally refers to the sin; in that case, it is irregular that *wināh* should be preceded by the preposition *pad*, as is the case here.

273. *1.* Cf. *Esoteric trends*, 198 note 62.

275. *1.* Quoted and discussed (for *wisāndagīh*) in *IOS*, 4 (1974), pp. 232 f. The combination *a-srušt īh* and *wisāndagīh*, in oppsoition to *rāmišn*, occurs also in **B 14**, No. 5. For *a-srušt īh* cf. Av. *asrušti-* and the expression *uzdēs a-srušt* (*DkM* 219.19) "pagan heresy". "Idol-worship" occurs as a sin in **B 14**, No. 6, and "plaintiveness" ibid., No. 17.

275. *2.* On this expression cf. Bthl., *WZKM*, 30 (1917/8), 22 ff.

276. *1.* *ēg* seems here to have the meaning of "well, now".

278. *1.* Quoted and discussed in *Scholem Festschrift*, 227.

278. *2.* Or: "shall not exist".

279. *1.* Quoted by H. Junker, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921/2, 158 note 22, and p. 133.

284. *1.* A curious use of *didīgar* apparently in the sense of "in addition".

288. *1.* Cf. above, 88 note 1.

289. *1.* Literally: "a man who has relegated a righteous priest to (a position of) *druwand*".

290. *2.* The idea of a man seeing his *dēn* is present in Kirdēr's inscription, cf. KSM 30 in Gignoux, *JA*, 256 (1968), 400.

290. *1.* Cf. 87. *1.*

291. *1.* An echo of this saying occurs in the eighth admonition of Ādurbād in *Dk* III 199:

*xīr ī gētīg pad yazdān be hilēd ud abar kār ī yazdān rawēd abēgumān ud gēhān bawēd ō šmāh, ēdōn *handāzēnd ce'ōn-tān pad tan ud ruwān pahlom bawēd. ud xīr ī mēnōg xwēš rāy xwad kunēd*[1] (*DkM* 216.10-13; B facs. 169) "Leave the things of the material world to the gods, and walk in performing the work of the gods without entertaining doubts, and the world shall become yours. (The gods) conduct (matters) so that it will be best for you in body and soul. Do the things of the spiritual world by yourselves for yourselves."

291 is partly quoted by Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 29 (1915), 41.

[1] The text may be lacking at this point, as there is an omission of unknown length in manuscript B.

291. *2.* There is a certain likelihood that the reading favoured by the manuscripts, *ēnyā-*, is the correct one: the word would be used in the sense of "otherwise; as a result". Cf. a similar usage in **100**.

293. *1.* A convenient summary of traditions and discussions concerning the Zoroastrian fires is given by Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion*, 77 ff.; also in the same author's *Symbols and values in Zoroastrianism*, New York 1966, 65 ff.

294. *1.* I.e., forget. For a discussion of *jūdan* cf. above, **56**. *2.*

294. *2.* On the close connection between water and plants with the

two Bounteous Immortals Xurdad and Amurdad (Avestan Haurvatāt and Amərətāt) see particularly in Lommel, *Religion Zarathustras*, 65 ff., 126 f.

296. *1.* On *stūrīh* cf. Bthl, *ZSR*, III, 48; Menasce, *Feux*, 56 ff.; and particularly A. Perikhanian, *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 353-357.

297. *1.* Cf. Junker, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921/2, 159 note 26, whose translation seems remote.

297. *2.* *wihēzag* probably signifies "calendar": cf. Nyberg, *Texte zum mazd. Kalender*, 83 ff.; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 171.

298. *1.* The same type of questions are encountered in *PhlT* 41 (*PN* §1), 57 (*AXus.* §11 f.). Cf. Kanga, *Cītak Handarž*, p. iii.

298. *2.* The expression *abar ēstādan* seems to be used here in an opposite sense to that which the preceding section, 297, suggests.

299. *1.* This word, represented by the ideogram **YPLXWN**, constitutes a problem. Bartholomae[1] believes that it often comes, as here, by corruption for *xwāndan*. An assumption of such a wholesale corruption in a fairly large number of cases seems to me unlikely. Cf. also K. Barr, *PhlPs*, 132. As long as no definite solution is offered, it seems best to assume that the verb normally represented by the ideogram, *xwastan*, means not only "to trample, plow, till", but also "to worship, recite".[2]

[1] *ZKMirMund*, II, 32 ff.

[2] This is also the opinion of J.C. Tavadia, *ŠnŠ*, p. 139 f. (note 12 to X 25).

300. *1.* Text and translation in Molé, *Culte*, 50 f.

300. *2.* For *a-winast* cf. *PhlT* 45 (PN §25), quoted above, **162**. *1.* The corresponding Pāzand form occurs in *ŠGV* V 5: *agunast*, with the Skt. translation *anāvila*; cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 103. The word is also attested in the *ābān šnāyēnīdārīh*, the "Propitiation of Water" of the *stāyišn ī 30 rōzag*:

stāyišn ō tō spās ī tō dārēm ka-t frāz brihēnīd ābān xwarr ardwisūr ī a-winast ī bāmīg ī hu-cihr ī rōšn ī xwarrōmand ī warzišnōmand ī ābādīh-ōmand ī yōšdahr ī abzōnīg pad hān ī ohrmazd kāmag (*ZXA* 233) "I hold praise and service to you, when you created the waters, the pure, resplendent, beautiful, luminous splendour Ardwisūr, full of *xwarr*, possessing cultivation, possessing fertility, possessing purity, bounteous, by the will of Ohrmazd".

300. *3.* Molé: "when (Ahreman) comes in person".

300. *4.* Cf. *ŠGV* I 18: *zaraθuštrōtəm.*

301. *1.* A close parallel to this saying is found in *PN* §44-45: *harw rōz ham-pursagīh rāy frāz ō anjaman ī wehān šawēd, ce awe ke ō anjaman ī wehān wēš šawēd kirbag ud ahlāyīh wēš baxšēnd. ud harw rōz 3 bār andar mān ī ātaxšān šawēd ud ātaxš niyāyišn kunēd, ce awe ke andar mān ī ātaxšān wēš šawēd ud ātaxš niyāyišn wēš kunēd ēgeš xwāstag ud ahlāyīh wēš baxšēnd* (*PhlT* 47 f.) "Go every day for consultation to the assembly of the good, for a man who goes more to the assembly of the good, they allot (to him) more good deeds and righteousness. Go three times every day to the fire temple and perform the fire ritual, for a man who goes more to the fire temple and performs the fire ritual more, they (scil. the gods) allot to him more property and righteousness".

303. *1.* *agar-agar* seems to belong to the type of repetitive compounds, of the kind M. Shaki[1] calls reduplicative repeated compounds.

[1] M. Shaki, *A study on nominal compounds in Neo-Persian*, Prague 1964, 64 ff.

303. *2.* For *pādram* cf. *DkM* 41.12; 45.17; 414.4, and in NPers. *bādrum, bādram* in *BQ* 209; *Luγat Nāma* s.v.

303. *3.* For *dastwar* "holder, occupier, possessor" cf. Bthl., *ZSR*, II, 43-49.

304. *1.* The word **knd'k** is not attested to my knowledge elsewhere. For the reading offered here cf. MPT **knd'r** "moat, ditch", and MPers. **kandag* "moat", attested in the early Arabic loan-word *xandaq*. If the reading is correct, *kandāg* would mean "a structure fortified by a moat". This reading is corroborated by the variant to this word which occurs below, *kandiz*, on which cf. note 3. The alternative reading might be *kušk* "hall, pavilion", fairly well attested in Phl.[1] This word seems to be attested in the meaning of "castle" in Naršaxī, *History of Bukhara*.[2]

[1] *PhlT* 20 §20; 54 §18. Cf. B. Geiger, *WZKM*, 42 (1935), 114-128.
[2] Cf. R.N. Frye, *Notes on the early coinage of Transoxania*, p. 42 (text), 48 (translation).

304. *2.* *wārān ī pad abzārīh*: it is interesting to note this application of *abzār*; cf. also below *wasīh ud abzārīh ī mardom*, and the expression *was-abzār* with the other compounds of *abzār*.

304. *3.* The NPers. word *kundiz* is said by the Persian lexicons to

mean "old fortress" by what seems to be a process of popular etymology, deriving the word from *kuhan-diz*. From the occurrence of this word in the present passage (I assume this must be the same word) it may be suggested that *kandiz* is similar in formation to *diz [ī] kandāg* which occurs below as a substitute for it. This suggests that *kandiz* (later presumably changed to *kundiz*) derives from *kand-diz* "a dug-out fortress, fortress with a moat". There may have occurred some contamination of this word with the mythical geographical name which acquired the form *kang-diz* in Middle Persian.

304. *4.* Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/9), 312 quotes this phrase as follows: *hač dušman anōtakīh anākīh.*

304. *5.* The parable of the fortress is based on the same motif later utilized by Firdausī in the famous Zāl story.[1] Zaehner[2] says that this is "totally unlike anything we have yet come across in Zoroastrianism", but the only difference between our version and that of the *Šāhnāma* lies in the fact that the disaster, which is here caused by an enemy attack, is attributed there to an earthquake. Both versions stress the transitoriness of this world and the need to prepare and make provision[3] for the next world, though the tone in the *Šāhnāma* may strike one as more pessimistic. The lack of stability, indeed the hopelessness of everything connected with this world, is common enough as a motif in the Pahlavi *andarz* literature.[4] Molé[5] adduces a parallel to the *Šāhnāma* passage from *Dd*, which is less striking than the present passage.

[1] *ŠN*, Minūčihr 1434-1441, 1460-1470 (according to Mohl); = ed. Bertels, I, pp. 220-223 (verses 1266-1273; 1290-1300), quoted by R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 444-446; *Dawn*, 240 ff.
[2] *Dawn*, 241.
[3] The term used here, *uzēnag*, is rendered *tōša* by *ŠN* (ed. Bertels, v. 1297).
[4] Cf., for example, the opening section of *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*.
[5] *RHR*, 162 (1962), 200-203.

304. *6.* Cf. the parallel in 218.

305. *1.* *band-kār* seems preferable to reading *bōy-kār* "perfumer", which is also possible, as the trades enumerated represent unpleasant kinds of occupation.

305. *2.* For *gāzar* "fuller" as a possible loan-word from Syriac *qāṣrā* cf. T. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien* II (Sitzb. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Classe, CXXVI), Vienna 1892, p. 42.

305. *3.* *kārōgīhā*, perhaps rather than the familiar *kirrōg-* which is

given by DP. Some of the types of work mentioned here do not seem to require any skill which may be implied by the term *kirrōgīh*. If the reading is correct, *kārōgīh* may be assumed to refer to menial or low labour.

306. *1.* Literally: "compute".

308. *1.* For 308-309 cf. K.M. Jamaspasa, *Unvala Mem. Vol.*, Bombay 1964, 188 f.

308. *2.* For the use of *ēnyā* as a conjunction cf. **D7d.** *1.*

310. *1.* This sentence is somewhat puzzling. An alternative reading could be, despite obvious reservations about it: *andar dēn harw kas ī tawān ēstādan be šudan ne bōzāgīhā* "Every person who can stand in the religion is not saved when he departs (from it)".

311. *1.* For *šād* it may be possible, by a slight emendation, to read *wišād* with the following translation: "ultimately it (scil. the world) will be dissolved by Him". *abdom* presumably refers to the end of the world.

313. *1.* The underlying metaphor is presumably a reference to ordeal by fire.

315. *1.* It would be possible to give as an alternative translation: "the demon in front of whom he (= the man) committed sins".

315. *2.* Note the expression *frō ēstēd*, which seems to be the pejorative equivalent of *ul ēstēd*.

317. *1.* On *nasuš* see West, *SBE*, V, 245.

317. *2.* The fuller version in M 51b specifies washing with bull's urine (*gōmēz*). Cf. *ŠnŠ* VII 7.

317. *3.* On worshipping the sun see *ŠnŠ* VII 1-6.

318. *1.* The interpretation (literally "without conflict") is in doubt, especially as MSS K and B have **'n'nbst'**. On *anbasān* cf. Henning, *BBB*, 104 on f. 55 and *Sogdica*, 53.

319. *1.* This section provides a good example of a spiritualized interpretation of concepts.

320. *1.* Cf. above, **43.**

321. *1.* Quoted by Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 30 (1917/8), 24.

322. *1.* The theme of teaching by personal example occurs also in the mirror metaphor, above **223.**

323. *1.* *burdan* seems here to be used as an intransitive verb, unless it can be assumed that its subject is *dar ī wehān* "the house of good people".

324. *1.* Cf. Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 30 (1917/8), 35.

324. *2.* The spelling **l'k** for what should probably be read as *rag* may be explained by the desire to distinguish it from **LK** = *tō*.

A 1. *1.* *abaxšāy-* "to withhold (?)" occurs also in **E 23.** The following passage constitutes a particularly clear example for its use: *ud pādāšn dādīhā ne dahēnd ud dāšn ud ahlaw-dād ne dahēnd, hān-ez ī dahēnd abāz abaxšāyēnd* (*ZWY* IV 52) "They do not give recompense as prescribed by law, they do not give presents and charity, and even that which they give they withdraw".
There need be no great difficulty in principle in regarding this as a semantic development from the basic idea of *abaxšāy-* "to forgive, have pity" → "to spare, begrudge; withhold, withdraw". Alternatively it may be possible to connect it with the base **xšu-* "scrape", adduced by I. Gershevitch,[1] with the familiar development *-āw-* → MPers. *-āy-*, like MPT **'st'yšn, j'yd'n.**[2]

[1] *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), 481, and Gershevitch, *Mithra*, 179 note 24:3, 323.
[2] P. Tedesco, *Le Monde Oriental*, 15 (1921), 197.

A 3. *1.* The phrase *pad bun* may mean "at the beginning".

A 4. *1.* Quoted by Asmussen, *Xᵘāstvanīft*, 56. Baxt-āfrīd was a commentator and sage from the time of Xusrō ī Kawādān (Anōšag-ruwān, 531-579). A short collection attributed to him is found in *PhlT* 81,[1] and **E 22** below is also ascribed to him.

[1] Cf. West, *GIPh*, II, 113 §75; further references on Baxt-Āfrīd in Justi, *Iran. Nb.*, 61.

A 5. *1.* Ādurbād son of Mahraspand lived under Šāpūr II (309-379 A.D.) and is by far the most prolific author of *andarz* texts, at least as far as we can judge from those surviving.[1] The present saying occurs also in *PhlT* 147 (*WāzAd* §26-32). A shorter text on a similar theme is in **238** above and **D 7b** below. A somewhat distorted Arabic version is attributed to Buzurjmihr in Tawḥīdī, *Al-baṣā'ir wa-l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. I. Keilani, Damascus 1964, IV, 254; Tanūkhī, *Al-faraj ba'da l-šidda*, Cairo 1375H/1955, 38. A versified Zor. NPers. version is in *PersRiv. Hormazyar*, I, 286 f.

[1] Texts attributed to Adurbād, son of Mahraspand, are the following: *PhlT* 58-71 (*AdMah*); 144-153 (*WāzAd*); *PRivDd* LXII (*AdPRiv*); *Dk* III 199 (= *DkM* 215 f.); *Dk* VI **A6, D1a, D7a,** and cf. Index for further references to Ādurbād.

A 5. *2.* Literally: "in six chapters".

A 5. *3.* For *āzādīhā* cf. NPers. *āzādī*, and Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 239 ff.

A 6c. *1.* The same idea, expressed in similar words, but attributed to Xusrō, occurs in *PhlT* 56 (§7).

A 6c. *2.* *ēwarzīdan* "to convey" is discussed by Bailey, *ZorPr*, 116 note 1.

A 6c. *3.* For *abām* cf. Bartholomae, *ZSR*, I, 40 ff.

A 6c. *4.* The terms "here" and "there" clearly refer to this and the next worlds.

A 6d. *1.* For *ham-pac(c)ēn* cf. Bartholomae, *ZSR*, III, 40.

A 6d. *2.* The text of this colophon, virtually written in New Persian (though in Pahlavi characters), was probably done by a late copyist to a collection of sayings which ended presumably at this point.

B 4. *1.* For the story cf. West, *SBE*, V, 397. The somewhat unusual syntax may be explained by assuming the text to be based on an Avestan original.

B 5. *1.* The story of Zoroaster asking for immortality, in response to which Ohrmazd makes him see that this is not right, told here and in **B 6**, is also told in *PRivDd* XXXVI (p. 112 ff.).

B 8. *1.* Bartholomae, *Zendhdschr.*, 71, finds the contents of **B 7-B 8** "remarkable". Sanjana refers to the "casuistical method of reasoning", which consists of avoiding the truth "by mental reservation or equivocation". One wonders whether it is not possible to trace here a possible root for the famous Islamic principle of *taqiyya*. This could apply also as an interpretation of **B 9**, **B 10**.

B 12. *1.* I have emended *ke* to *ce*, to avoid the assumption of a textual omission, as was made by Sanjana. Retaining the original reading of the manuscripts one would have to translate the second half of the saying as follows: "and every one who [knows how to contemplate] with acquired wisdom knows well [that which is] manifest [from. . .?]."
We clearly stand closer to the text as transmitted by emending as proposed above.

B 14. *1.* **B 14-B 46** form a coherent unit. The list is composed of two

types of opposition: opposites of antithesis and opposites of the right measure set against its excess. Although the list strikes one at first as having no principle of arrangement, it can be shown on inspection to consist of regular pairs of opposites. The total list consists of 32 opposites, and it can be divided into two parts, each having 16 opposites. In the first half the proper coupling of the opposites is haphazard: 1 and 9, 2 and 13, 3 and 14 form obvious couples, the first item of which represents the "forward inclined" pair of opposites, while the second one makes the "backward-inclined" pair. In the second part two consecutive pairs of opposites from a group of four related concepts based on the same model: the first pair is "forward-inclined", while the second is "backward-inclined"; e.g. 17-18; 19-20; etc. A full discussion of this list and the terms defining it will be given in a study devoted to the concept of *paymān*.[1]

[1] Meanwhile cf. Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 40 ff.

B 14. *2.* *wastārīh* has been discussed by M.F. Kanga,[1] and briefly by Henning.[2] If we assume that the word is derived from the base *vas-* "to wish, want", it can be suggested that *wastār* developed the sense of "wilful", hence, on the one hand "rash, rude", and on the other "over-confident, brash, supercilious; negligent, careless", and there is no compelling reason to assume more than one basic sense. Some of the more significant passages where it occurs are the following:

[I] *harw ke ce'ōn ēn dīd ce rāy ka wastār andar gēhān, ka ne dārēd gētīg pad spanj ud tan pad āsān* (*PhlT* 54, *ADān* §20)[3] "Every one who has seen like that, for what purpose is it when he is careless in the world, when he does not regard this world as an inn and the body as worthless?"

wastār andar gēhān could be taken in this example to mean "over-confident as regards the world, taking it for granted". It is sometimes used in conjunction with *wistāxw* "confident", as, for example:

[II] *pad xwadāy ud sālār mard wastār ud wistāxw ma bāš* (*PhlT* 58, *AdMah* §4) "Be not careless or bold with regard to a lord and a ruler".

wastār comes here as a near-synonym of *wistāxw*, just as *a-burd-framān* is used in this position in **C 8** below.

[III] *pad harw kas harw cīš wastār ud wistāxw ma bāš* (*PhlT* 63, *AdMah* §70) "Be not careless or bold towards any person in any thing".

[IV] *pad dāšn ī driyōšān spōz ud wastārīh ma kunēd* (*PhlT* 56, *AXus* §6) "Concerning gifts to the poor, do not delay or be negligent".[4]

[V] *ud agar a-dānīh ayāb wastārīh [ayāb] duš-āgāhīh rāy wināh-ē jahēd, ēg pēš ī dastwarān ud wehān pad padīd bawēd* (*MX* LI 12) "If a sin is (accidentally) committed[5] out of ignorance, negligence or foolishness, he renounces it before the priests and good people".

In our list, **B 14**, it is used to denote the vice of excess with regard to "confidence". In *PhlT* 93, *AW* §99, it is used in contrast to *tarsāgāhīh* "reverence". The negative *a-wastār* occurs as a good quality in *DkM* 161.14.[6]

In NPersian, where we have *bistār* "inconstant, weak",[7] this sense may have developed from the meaning "negligent, careless".

[1] "The Testament of Khusrau I", *Sanj Vartaman Annual*, 1948, p. 3 note 4.
[2] *BSOAS*, 13 (1950), 648 note 1.
[3] Cf. W.B. Henning, *BSOAS*, 13 (1950), 647 f., from whose translation the one given here differs slightly.
[4] The same sequence of words is used also in the Pahlavi marriage contract, where we have: *abē-bahānagīhā aweš abspārēm ud pad-eš spōz ud wastārīh ne kunēm* (*PhlT* 143 §7; cf. D.N. MacKenzie and A. Perikhanian, *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1969, 108; Shaked, *Tarbiz*, 41 (1971/72), 57) "I shall hand it to her without excuse and shall not delay or neglect the matter".
[5] Cf. the expression *wināh ī jahišnīg*, on which see above, 23.
[6] Bailey, *ZorPr*, 199, where the word is left unread.
[7] *BQ* defines it as *sust va nā-ustuvār*.

B 14. *3.* Cf. for this pair above **275**.

B 14. *4.* For *niwāxtagīh* see note 2 to **120** and *niwāzišn* in **189**.

B 14. *5.* Despite the fact that this contrast may strike one as strange, the reading is confirmed by **275**. Another surprising contrast to *rāmišn* can be seen in *DkM* 58.9: *rēdīh* "filth, excrement" is said to be the vice of excess corresponding to *rāmišn*. The idea may be that *rāmišn* represents the virtue of ease and relaxation; its excess, resulting in vice, may be either indiscipline, hence schism; or impurity.

B 14. *6.* On *wisāndagīh* see Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 232.

B 14. *7.* Cf. above, **275**.

B 14. *8.* For *widangīh* cf. Parthian **wdng**.[1]

[1] Cf. *MirMan*, III; Boyce, *Man. Hymn-cycles*; Salemann, *MSt*, 72 s.v.

B 14. *9.* *fšōnišn* corresponds to Av. *fšav-* and its derivatives, where it is glossed in Pahlavi by *abzāyišn*.[1] The same pair occurs in *DkM* 59.2. Cf. also *DkM* 328.15; 329.6; 371.6; 372.3.

[1] Bthl., *AirWb*, 1027-1029.

B 14. *10.* *dil-dardīh* means "tenderness of heart", hence "compassion, sympathy". Cf. *Ošnar* §53: *ke pad xēm kāmēd būdan gōw ku dil-dard bāš* "Tell him who wants to be with (good) character: be sympathetic".

B 14. *11.* For *sturgīh* cf. *DkM* 58.11 (where it is the vice of excess corresponding to *arwandīh*); 372.6; *JN* IX 8; XI 1; XVI 20;[1] *GBd* 147.12.[2]

[1] Cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 6 (1930/32), 82; Salemann, *Manichaica*, IV, 48.
[2] Cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 6 (1930/32), 599.

B 14. *12.* For other occurrences of *hu-škōhīh* cf. *PhlT* 92 §54, 78; 93 §96; 94 §121. Cf. lately the discussion by A. Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 36 (1974), 113 ff.

B 14. *13.* It is noteworthy that *a-wistāxwīh* does not occur in the same pair as *wistāxwīh*, which comes above, No. 2: we do not have here pairs of opposites, but vices of excess opposed to the virtues of moderation with which they are associated.

B 14. *14.* The same pair occurs in the list of *DkM* 58.21 f.

B 14. *15.* Cf. above, **275**.

B 14. *16.* Or should this word be read *wišād-xandagīh* "open laughter"?

B 14. *17.* On *tan-cīnagīh* cf. the remark of J. de Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 41 note 1.[1] A similar pair is given in *DkM* 58.15, where *cīnagīh* comes as the vice of excess corresponding to *cābukīh*.[2]

[1] A word meaning "filth" would not fit in here in any case, as we want a vice of excess to "cleanliness".
[2] In *DkM* 59.1-2 we have the following text: W cynkyx-*xwāyišn ī pāk az ānā-bagīh*, where the first word is probably better taken as *wizīnagīh*, with the following translation: "The desire for distinction which is free from destruction". For *ānāb-* cf. *DkM* 316.13, 16 f.; 342.16.

B 14. *18.* Cf. above, **120**, note 2.

B 14. *19.* *ōbastagīh* comes in contrast to *ēr-menišnīh* in *DkM* 59.5; 372.1.

B 14. *20.* Or should it be read *wāzēnagīh* "talkativeness, blabbering (?)"?

B 14. *21.* For *āmār-kašīh* one may compare NPers. *ḥisāb kašīdan*. The same word, with the same association with *wad-xwāhīh*, in contrast to *dādestān* occurs in **C 31**.

B 14. *22.* *pādār*, literally "on a tree", is presumably constructed in the same manner as *pādāšn*. (This interpretation has been suggested by Prof. Mary Boyce.)

B 14. *23.* The construction *meh-mardīh* is reminiscent of *meh-kārīh*, above **46.**

B 15. *1.* *kardag-hangāmīg* may alternatively mean "keeping the time of work".

B 27. *1.* Instead of *a-wistāxwīh* "lack of confidence" in **B 14**, [13], the text has here *sam ud bīm* "fear".

B 37. *1.* Here *gōwāgīh ud rāst-gōwišnīh* "eloquence and truthful speech" come for mere *gōwāgīh* in **B 14.**

B 42. *1.* The text here deviates from the normal pattern: we have throughout *az gēhān be barišn*, while here the text has *az škōhān be barišn*. As *škōhān* is corroborated by **B 14**, [28], we may assume that the original text read as follows: *arg ud ranz ī škōhān az gēhān be barišn* "the toil and burden of the poor should be driven out of the world". Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 36 (1974), 116, reads here *škōyišn*, which strikes me as inappropriate.

B 47. *1.* Cf. **C 57.** *1.* We should perhaps translate: "but is in the world for maintaining the body in joy".

B 47. *2.* The passage is reminiscent of Burzōyē's introduction to *Kalīla wa-Dimna*,[1] where the parable of the man hanging in a well with serpents all around him symbolizes the situation of Man in the world.

[1] Ed. Louis Cheikho, 2nd. ed., Beirut 1923, 43.

B 49. *1.* For *ham-wāzīg* cf. NPers. *ambāz*, and Horn, *Grund. d. neup. Etym.*, 26.

B 51. *1.* Quoted by A. Pagliaro, *RSO*, 11 (1926/28), 288-291.

B 53. *1.* *rahīg* might also conceivably mean "child, boy", though this does not seem likely. For this and similar sayings which advocate treating one's wife and slaves well it is possible to refer to an analogous piece in Arab-Sasanian literature. It was said of King Xusrō I that he used to be forgiving to three (groups of people): his retinue, his wives, and his familiars, and would bear with them for their slips (*wa-kānat sajiyyatu kisrā al-'afwa 'an thalāthin khawāṣṣihi wa-ḥaramihi wa-biṭānatihi muḥtamilan li-'atharātihim*. Ps.-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Ms. BM Add. 23298 fol. 290b).

B 53. *2.* For *friyād* (which can be graphically confused with *frahaxt* "educated") cf. *DkM* 11.20; 76.16; 135.5; *MX* II 97; *friyādāg*: *Dd* III 9; XXI 4; XXIV 4; *friyādišn*: *GBd* 66.13; *Dd* X 1 (~ *īg*); XIX 2; XXXVII 27; LXXI 12 (= K 35 fol. 184v 18); *a-friyād*: *Dd* LXXI 11 (= K 35 fol. 184v 6).

C 3. *1.* The translation is somewhat uncertain.

C 4. *1.* This reading seems more likely than *xwarr* "fortune" or "splendour", which is graphically also possible.

C 5. *1.* One should perhaps emend this word to read *paykōbānag*, as part of *paykōftan*. The verb *paykaftan* means "to fall." (The term will be discussed in a forthcoming study.)

C 6. *1.* *wehīh* means both "goodness" as a moral quality and "goodness" in the sense of "good things, material possessions". Similarly, *anāgīh* denotes also "distress, bad circumstances". Cf. Mishnaic Hebrew *haṭṭōḇā ve-hārā'ā*, Arabic *al-xayr wal-l-šarr*, etc.

C 8. *1.* A similar saying occurs in *PhlT* 58 (*AdMah* §4). For *a-burd-framān ud wistāxw* we have there *wastār ud wistāxw*; cf. **B 14.** *2* above, particularly text No. II.

C 9. *1.* I assume that *wad-zārag*, if the reading is correct, is a cognate of *zarīg* in **C 10**, and of Parthian **z'r, z'ryḥ**[1] "sorrowful; sorrowfully", Sogdian B. **z'ry(h)** "pitiful". Another reading which has been considered is *wad-zahrag* "of evil poison", perhaps in the sense of "malignant".

[1] *MirMan*, III, s.v.

C 9. *2.* *riftagīh* is derived from the base *rip-* "deceit", just like the following word, *ōrēb* as well as *rēbagīh* **(E 16)**, for which the NPers. cognate is *rīva* "deceit, fraud". *riftag* occurs as the translation into Pahlavi of Av. *irixta-* "transgression", glossed by Phl. *wināhgār* "sinner" (*PhlY* XXXII 7, XLIV 2).[1]

[1] Cf. B.N. Dhabbar, *PhlY*, Glossary, p. 108; Shaked, *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 398 note 19.

C 9. *3.* For *ōrēb* cf. also *PhlT* 74 §7;[1] 165 §16[2], where *ōrēb* stands in parallelism with *niyāz*.

[1] Cf. Shaked in *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 398.
[2] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 400.

C 10. *1.* The idea of the passage corresponds to that which underlies **2, 154, 183.**

C 10. *2.* For *zarīg* cf. MPT **zryg** (M733v 5), and the comments by Salemann, *MSt*, 80.[1] Cf. also *wad-zārag* (?) in **C 9.**

[1] The reference to *ŠGV* should read: XIV 33.

C 11. *1.* Cf. NPers. *bād* "arrogance, haughtiness".

C 11. *2.* One would expect an adverbial form like *wēš* or *wēšīhā*. It seems possible to read *wād [ī] wēšīh* "airs, an air of grandeur (?)".

C 12. *1.* Judging by *nihānīh, nihānīhā*[1] one would expect here a meaning like: "humility"; since we have to do here with a negative concept perhaps the correct translation should be "retiring disposition, timidity" or the like.

[1] Cf. above, 173.

C 13. *1.* This is a mere guess. Two other possibilities of reading are: (a) *dawīh*, connected with NPers. *davī*, defined by *BQ*: *daγā-bāz va muḥīl va ḥīla-var*; (b) *gungīh* "muteness".

C. 14. *1.* The form *xešmen, xešmēn* for the adjective of *xešm* is seen in *PhlT* 59 (*AdMah* §18), and in the abstract *xešmenīh* **B 14**, No. 30, and **E 11**. The shortening of the vowel of the adjectival morpheme corresponds to the development *-k-aina-* > *-kēn* > *-ken* / *-kin*.[1]

[1] Cf. Salemann, *GIPh*, I, 1, p. 280.

C 20. *1.* Cf. **C 9.**

C 22. *1.* Cf. Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 29 (1915), 41.

C 23. *1.* Or: "lack of wealth".

C 23. *2.* For *wehīh* cf. **C 6.** *1.*

C 24. *1.* This section is closely linked to the preceding one.

C 26. *1.* Cf. Molé, *Oriens*, 13/14 (1961), 11. Sections **C 26-C 28** are summarized by Menasce, *Encyclopédie*, 66 f.; cf. also Shaked, *Esoteric trends*, 189.

C 27. *1.* Cf. Molé, *Culte*, 215 f. for **C 27-C 28.**

C 29. *1.* For *frahenz-* "to train, educate" cf. Pth. **frhynj-**.[1]

[1] Cf. *MirMan*, III, and Ghilain, *Essai*, 51.

C 29. *2.* For *wizurd* cf. *ŠGV* V 34; *ZWY* IV 37; VIII 1; *DkM* 711.8. Also **wclty** Kirdēr Naqš-i Rajab 17. Cf. Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 27 (1913), 366 ff. Buddh. Sogdian has the cognate **wc'rt**, cf. Gershevitch, *GrManSogd*, §219.

C 30. *1.* Viz., according to the common opinion of people.

C 30. *2.* Cf. NPers. *zad* "battle, combat".

C 31. *1.* Cf. **B 14.** *21.* One wonders whether **C 25** represents a similar idea.

C 33. *1.* Cf. above, **B 53.**

C 37. *1.* For *pēš-gāh* cf. the definition of *BQ*: *ṣadr va ṣadr-i majlis. . . va pādšāh va ṣāḥib-i taxt va musnad rā ham gufta ast.*

C 37. *2.* For the construction of the sentence cf. **C 43**: *mardomān kam abāyēd* "he is less necessary for people, they need him less".

C 38. *1.* It may seem from this passage that *rahīg* refers to slaves (perhaps including females), which may explain why they frequently come in these sections together with *zan.*

C 39. *1.* Cf. **129**, and Tafazzoli, *Acta Orientalia*, 33 (1971), 203.

C 41. *1.* The same expression is also in **C 43.**

C 41. *2.* *bēz-* is probably connected with Av. *vaēg-* "to swing; whirl", translated into Phl. by *wēzišn*.[1] Cf. NPers. *bīz*, defined by *BQ*: *zada.*

[1] *AirWb*, 1313.

C 46. *1.* For *ayārand* cf. NPers. *yārand*.[1]

[1] This is not the same word as in *DkM* 372.7, whichshould read **arwandīh*, like *DkM* 58.11.

C 48. *1.* Instead of *wahānag* it is possible to read *ud āhōg*, but the sense obtained would be poorer.

C 48. *2.* The reading is doubtful.

C 48. *3.* The next two sections continue the idea of this saying.

C 51. *1.* Partly quoted Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 234.

C 51. *2.* Cf. the opposite of *wahman-dārīh* in the next section, *duš-*

manīh; and the definition of a man "whose body is inhabited by Wahman" in 78.

C 52. *1.* Partly quoted Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 233.

C 52. *2.* *dušmanādīh* is the opposite of *dōstīh* in the preceding section. The word is attested in JPersian **dwšmn'dy** and early NPers. *dušmanādagī*.[1]

[1] Cf. Salemann, *MSt*. 155; Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.*, 146.

C 53. *1.* *hu-āmārīh*, if the reading is correct, stands in contrast to *an-āmārīh* which is its counterpart in C 54. The pair may be semantically close to *āmār-kašīh* (B 14, No. 27; C 13), which means apparently "vengefulness". It is assumed here, though there is no evidence for this, that *hu-āmārīh* means literally "tipping the account in favour of people", hence "being well disposed towards them", and that consequently *an-āmārīh* represents the opposite of this attitude.

C 54. *1.* For *az. . .rāy* cf. e.g. C 55, C 57, C 68, and Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.*, 367 f.

C 56. *1.* For *duš-burdīh* cf. MPT **dwjbwrd**, Salemann, *MSt*, 66.

C 57. *1.* *āwāmīh* occurs in a similar context in *MX*: *ud šahr hān wattar ke pad nēwagīh ud abē-bīmīh ud āwāmīh*[1] *andar zīstan ne šāyēd* (*MX* XXXIII 16) "That country is worst in which it is not possible to live in good circumstances, in freedom from fear and in *āwāmīh*". The NPersian translation gives as equivalent to *āwāmīh*: *šādkāmī* "joy".[2] To this sense may also belong *āwāmīh* in 247, translated there, at a guess, "alacrity". Cf. also *āwām-menišnīh* in E 22e, *āwāmīhā* in B 47, and D.N. MacKenzie, *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay 1969, 106 n. 4.

A different sense of *āwām* seems to be attested in the treatise *Abar ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsišnīh*. Among formulae of praise for the recipient of a letter we have the following:

[I] *kardār-tom pad šnāyēnišn ī yazdān, burd-ranj-tom pad dēn ī mazdēsnān, hayyārēnīdār-tom pad kadār-ce xīrān ī āwāmān. . .* [The following word is not clear] (*PhlT* 138 §34) "Most active in satisfying the gods, exerting himself to the highest degree in matters of the Mazdean religion, extending most help in the things of *āwām-s*. . ."

[II] *frāz-tom pad dānāgīh, ud stūdag pad cihr ud brēh, brāzišnīg andar āwām, ud friyādišnīg andar harw 2 axwān* (*PhlT* 134 §11) "Most distinguished in wisdom, praised for character and fortune, resplendent in (or among) *āwām*, enjoying help in both worlds".

[III] *pad gōhr padīriftag, andar yazdān wābarīgān, andar xwadāyān* **wxšyšn' tng** (?), *andar āwām abāyišnīg, pad cihr brēh ud xwarr bawandag. . .* (*PhlT* 137 §29; cf. for all three passages Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9, 1937/39, 93 ff.) "Acceptable in lineage, trustworthy with regard to the gods, patient (?) with regard to the rulers, proper in (or among) *āwām*, perfect in nature, fortune and luck. . ."

R.C. Zaehner translated *āwām* in passages I, III as designating "the secular life". However, though "time" has such a connotation in Christian literature, this is not the case, as far as I know, in Zoroastrianism. Passage III may give a clue to the meaning of this word; we have the series: gods – rulers – *āwām*, which suggests that the last item designates fellow people. *andar āwām abāyišnīg* could therefore mean "proper (in his behaviour) with regard to his fellows". This meaning, though entirely conjectural, fits the other passages too. In passage II the phrase means: "resplendent among his fellow people". Once this meaning is contemplated, it is possible to suggest that the phrase in Pahlavi *āwām xwadāyān* (cf. *PhlT* 86 f., *AW* §3-4) properly means not "rulers of the time", but "rulers of the populace".

Similarly, in *MX* LV 8, *hamāg rāyēnīdārīh ī āwāmīgān* (where the Pāz. gives *ōgām ã*, i.e. Phl. *āwāmān*), may be translated "all the arrangement of people"; the Skt. version gives *samayānām*, on the assumption that *āwām* means here "time".

In the Marriage-contract. the phrase *āwām-passazagīhā* (*PhlT* 142 §6) could be translated "as befits (my fellow) people, i.e. as befits my class". The expression *az āwām be šawēd* "he dies" (*REA* V 5, p. 14) lends itself to more than one explanation. It could mean, for example, literally "he departs from (amongst) people".

[1] Pāz. *ōγāmī*, Skt. *samaya* – both taking it as deriving from *āwām* "time", which at least confirms the reading of the word.

[2] West, *Glossary and index to the Pâzand text of the Mainyô-i-Khard*, 1871, 149.

C 61. *1.* *gund* may have here a more fundamental meaning, close to its etymon: "protector, shield".

C 65. *1.* For *an-āzīh* cf. *PhlT* 96 (*AW* §150), 97 (*AW* §166).

C 65. *2.* *padīreftagīh* seems to represent a positive counterpart to *škeftīh* in C 66. It may therefore mean more specifically something like "having good fortune".

C 75. *1.* This and the next section are quoted by Molé, *Culte*, 417.

C 77. *1.* For *pad jastag* cf. *jahišnīg* in 13.

C 79. *1.* As a parallel to this cf. 95. What seems like a different formulation of basically the same idea is found in 264-265.

C 80. *1.* For the general sense of the section cf. the statement about Ahreman who does not exist; quoted Shaked, *Scholem Festschrift*, 227 ff.

C 80. *2.* The opposite of *druwand* should have been *ahlaw*; the opposite of *bōzihēd*, which is a legal concept, would be **ērang kunihēd*, and it may not be far-fetched to suggest that we have here a case of scribal error. The only graphic difference between the two words *druwand* and *ērang* lies in the existence of an initial aleph in the latter word, and the copyist might have dropped it on the assumption that it was a privative *a-* before *druwand*.

C 81. *1.* The latter part of the section is not clear, the translation being uncertain. For *nām* it is possible to read *ud ham*: "Knowledge of all three pairs is in the school, and also humility" (?).

C 82. *1.* Or should one read *myazd ī gāhānbār* "the meal of the *gāhānbār*" as in *SupT ŠnŠ* XII 19?[1] On the term *gāhānbār* cf. D.N. MacKenzie, *Henning Memorial Volume*, 265, note 8. On the *gāhānbār* see Darmesteter, *ZA* I, 36 ff.

[1] Cf. Kotwal's note to the text, p. 99.

C 82. *2.* The reading *jahišn-hayyārīh* is assured by the survival of this compound as a personal name in the Islamic period, as Jahšiyārī, from **jahišyārī* (an observation which I owe to the late Professor Henning).
As to the meaning, the literal translation of the compound would probably be "helping fortune", or "being a friend of fortune", with the first member belonging to the verb *jastan* "to jump; occur, come about, happen", and having the more precise meaning of "fortune, accident".[1] From the texts in which this compound occurs one may conclude, albeit with some hesitation, that *jahišn-hayyār* has two meanings: (a) what one would expect as the outcome of the literal translation of the components, viz. "fortunate, lucky"; (b) "a friendly, helpful, person". It strikes me as unlikely that we should have two different compounds altogether, with the reading *dahišn-hayyār* (which does not sound right anyhow) for sense (b).
The passages for this compound are as follows:
[I] *pad jahišn-hayyārīh ī pad mardomān xrad weh* (*MX* I 66)[2] "As *jahišn-hayyārīh* among people wisdom is best".

The Pāzand reads the compound *zahišn ayārī*,[3] and the Sanskrit version renders it *siddheh sahāyatāyai*, which is without doubt an attempt at a literal translation of *pad jahišn-hayyārīh*.
[II] *ke umēdwār-tar? tuxšāg mard ī jahišn-hayyār. ce tuxšāgīh ud ce jahišn-hayyārīh? tuxšāgīh hān ke pēšag ī frārōnīh gīrēd ud kār-ez ī pādēmār bawēd a-wināhīhā ud a-ranjagīhā pad-eš tuxšēd. jahišn-hayyārīh nām* (?) *ī nēwag ud hu-frazāmīh ī kār* (*PhlT* 95, *AW* §125-128) "Who is the most hopeful? A diligent man who is *jahišn-hayyār*. What is diligence and what is *jahišn-hayyārīh*? Diligence is this: one who performs a righteous profession and is diligent in doing an assigned work without harm or affliction. *Jahišn-hayyārīh* is a good name[4] and a good completion of work".
A preliminary edition and translation of the Arabic version of this text from Miskawayh's *Jāvīdān Xirad* was prepared by the late Samuel Stern.[5] I am quoting from his typescript translation, adding in brackets, where necessary, the Arabic equivalents: "He said: Who deserves best to have good hope? I said: A diligent man who is fortunate (*muwaffaq*). He said: Who is the diligent man who is fortunate? I said: A man is diligent if he is intent on his work, interrupts it rarely, whereas fortune (*tawfīq*) is the agreement of fate." The Arabic translator took the compound to mean "fortunate", and it makes sense to regard the question as referring to the two components of success: the application of the person and the help of fate.
[III] *ud ke driyōš pad ce xurram, druwand ēmēd ō ke dārēd,*
*ka ne wehīh *ast *ī*[6] *[weh] az ahlāyīh,*
ud ne-z wattarīh-ē ast [ī] wattar az druwandīh,
ud ke hanbār [ī] kirbag driyōš [ce'ōn] kardan tawān,
*ud ke *jahišn*[7]*-hayyār ēw-tāg ce'ōn šāyēd būdan* (*Ošnar* §49)
"He who is poor, what shall he rejoice in?
A wicked man, what does he hope for?
When there is no goodness which is [better] than righteousness,
and no evil which is worse than wickedness.
One who has a store of good deeds, [how] can he be made poor?
One who is *jahišn-hayyār*, how can he become lonely?"
In this text, which looks poetic, there are problems of interpretation, perhaps because of faulty textual transmission,[8] and partly because of its somewhat peculiar syntax, which may be possibly explained as the effect of the versification.

We seem to have here four accents to a line, with a caesura roughly in the middle. Recently the question of Middle Persian verse, and particularly rhyme, has attracted some attention. Cf. my article in *Henning Mem. Vol.*, 395-405 (where rhyme is not discussed); A. Tafazzoli, *Studia Iranica*, 1 (1972), 207-217. (Also in *Irānšināsī*, 2 (1350), 45-60); G. Lazard, *Mém. de Menasce*, 433-440; B. Utas, *Mon. Nyberg*, II, 399-418. The question of rhyme in Middle Persian is rather complicated, as pointed out by Utas. I would tend to regard cases of clear and consistent rhyming as an indication of late composition, though occasional rhyme embellishments, based on the repetition of identical words or terminations, may have been an optional feature of Middle Persian verse. It does not seem however to constitute a reliable guide for establishing the end of lines.

[IV] *ud hān ī ahlawān ruwān az wahišt ud garōdmān be hayyār-jahišnīh ne bawēd. ce hān ī purr-urwahm axwān ēg-eš ne az-eš *ayāsišnīh*[9] *be-š harw kas aweš purr-*ayāsišn*[10] *ast* (*Dd* XXX 14)[11] "Outside of Wahišt and Garōdmān there is no helpfulness to that righteous soul. For there is no longing away from that joyful existence, but every person is full of longing towards it".

I take it that *hayyār-jahišnīh*[12] is an inversion of the compound *jahišn-hayyārīh*, with the same meaning.

We thus have here, in C 82, as well as in text I above, clear examples of meaning (a), with text IV perhaps representing the same meaning with an inverted order of components. Text II represents meaning (b), and text III can belong to either definition of the compound.

One may compare the expressions **jahišn pānag ud jād[ag] hayyār* (*PhlT* 132 §1).

[1] Cf. above, **13.** *3.*, for other forms which belong to the same group.
[2] The same text occurs also, with minor variations, in *PhlT* 67 (*AdMah* §104); 71 (*AdMah* §154).
[3] The first word was changed by the editor, without justice, to *dahišn*.
[4] The word could also be read *dām*.
[5] This was done as part of a planned joint edition of the Pahlavi and Arabic texts of *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*. I hope to complete this edition and publish it shortly.
[6] **ast *ī*: MS AYTyx.
[7] The manuscript has what looks like *yazdān*. The two words *dahišn* and *yazdān* are not much different from each other in the Pahlavi script.
[8] We actually have only one independent manuscript evidence for the text of *Ošnar* – K 20. The other manuscripts listed in the footnotes are dependent on K20.
[9] MSS 'dyb'dšnyx.

[10] MSS 'dyb'dšn.
[11] Cf. Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974).
[12] This could of course also be read *hayyār-dahišnīh* "the giving of help".

C 83a. *1.* Quoted in *Esoteric trends*, 184 note 27.

C 83a. *2.* *wehīh* is spelled by the ideogram **ŠPYLyx**: in view of the context (*dānāgīh – wehīh – xrad*), which seems to require a notion which belongs to the sphere of wisdom, one may be tempted to suggest that we may have here not the word *wehīh* "goodness" but the equivalent of MPT whyḫ "wisdom",[1] which is not to my knowledge elsewhere attested in Pahlavi.

[1] Cf. the glossary to *MirMan*, II.

C 83b. *1.* Quoted H. Junker, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921-22, 159 f. note 33; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 388.

C 83b. *2.* Cf. note **254.** *2.* above.

C 83c. *1.* Although the word is spelled with an initial k- one hesitates to suggest that it should be read *karag*, following NPers. *kara* "filth". **karag*, to my knowledge, is not otherwise attested in MPers.

C 83d. *1.* The sense of *xwad-dōšag* here seems to be "self-willed; deluded by following his own fancy".

C 83d. *2.* Sēn who is mentioned here is of course not the same as the celebrated disciple of Zoroaster, and must be a Sasanian heretic, the same as is mentioned in *ŠnŠ* VI 7 (cf. Tavadia, op. cit., 97 f.).

C 83d. *3.* On *pad nigerišn* cf. above, **91.** *3.*

C 83e. *1.* For *škōy* cf. note on *škōyišn*, 122.

D 1a. *1.* For discussions of this section cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 29 note 2; Henning, *ZDMG*, 106 (1956), 75. The text is quoted by Zaehner, *JRAS*, 1940, 36-39; cf. also Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 407 f. and *Dawn*, 243. Tavadia, *MPers. Spr. u. Lit.*, 105. For the various versions cf. notes to the text. As this constitutes a fairly rare case of a ramified textual transmission both in Pahlavi and in Islamic sources, there is a certain interrest in comparing the different versions in some detail.[1]

Our *Dēnkard* passage (= D) and the *PhlT* (= P) version show two divergent traditions, though the differences are not profound. The text of *Dd*, which refers only to the first two groups, is practically the same as D. The Arabic version of Misk. (= M) is much closer to D than to P, while Tawḫīdī (= T)

Comparative table of Ādurbād's division of the world

D	P	M	T	G
I brēh	*baxt*	*qaḍā' wa-qadar*	*jadd*	*qaḍ' wa- qadar*
(a) zīndagīh	zīndagīh	ahl (b)	ḥayāt (a)	zan xᵛāstan (b)
(b) zan	zan	wuld (c)	ahl (b)	farzand (c)
(c) frazand	frazand	māl (e)	wuld (c)	māl (e)
(d) xwadāyīh	xwadāyīh	sulṭān (d)	māl (e)	pādšāhī (d)
(e) xwāstag	xwāstag	'umr (a)	mamlaka (d)	zindagānī (a)
II kunišn	*kunišn*	*ijtihād wa-'amal*	*ixtibār*	*juhd*
(a) ahlawīh	āhrōnīh (c)	'ulūm (c)	ṭibb (+)	'ilm (c)
(b) druwandīh	ardēštārīh (d)	'imārāt (e)	nujūm (+)	dabīrī (+)
(c) āhrōnīh	wāstriyōšīh (e)	ṣinā'āt (+)	falsafa (+)	suvārī (d)
(d) ardēštārīh	kirbag (a)	furūsiyya (d)	iṯm (b)	bīhišt (a)
(e) wāstriyōšīh	bazag (b)	fiqh (a-b)	ajr (a)	rahāī az dōzax (b)
III hōg	*hōg*	*'āda*	*'āda*	*'ādat*
(a) xwardan	ō zanān šudan	akl (a)	akl (a)	rāh raftan (b)
(b) raftan	kār wizārdan (e)	nawm (d)	nawm (d)	xᵛardan (a)
(c) ō zanān šudan	xwardan (a)	mašy (b)	jimā' (c)	xuftan (d)
(d) būšasp kardan	raftan (b)	jimā' (c)	mašy (b)	mubāšarat kardan (c)
(e) kār wizārdan	xwaftan (d)	taɣawwuṭ (e)	a'māl *ṭabī'īya (e) (MS ṣa'ba)	baul va ɣāyiṭ k. (e)
IV gōhr	*gōhr*	*jawhar*	*jawhar*	*ṭab'ī*
(a) xēm	mihr (b)	xayriyya (c)	maḥabba (b)	wafā' kardan (a?)
(b) mīhr	āzarm (+)	tawāṣul (b?)	'adāwa (b+)	mudārā kardan (+)
(c) wehīh	rādīh (d)	saxā' (d)	xulq (a)	tavāḍu' k. (+)
(d) rādīh	rāstīh (e)	ṭiqa (+)	šaqā' (? r. *saxā'* ? d)	saxāvat k. (d)
(e) rāstīh	ēr-menišnīh (+)	istiqāma (e)	istiqāma (e)	rāst guftan (e)
V abarmānd	*abarmānd*	*wirāṭa*	*nasab*	*mīrāθī*
(a) huš	tan (c)	ḏihn (a)	'aql (a)	nīkū-rūī (e)
(b) wīr	bahr (d?)	ḥifz (b)	dahr (r. *ḏihn* ? b?)	nikū-xūī (+)
(c) tan	huš (a)	šajā'a (+)	mantiq (? +)	himmat-i buland (+)
(d) brēh	wīr (b)	jamāl (e)	ḥasad (r. *jasad*! c)	mustakbirī (+)
(e) dīdan	nērōg (+)	bahā' (d?)	jamāl (e)	siflagī (+)

may be close to P, though, like the text of Ghazālī (= G), it shows signs of mixture. G is on the whole a rather free translation. It seems to have been based on a model which was closer to P than to D.[2] In one case it shares with M a divergence from both Pahlavi sources,[3] but the same group, *kunišn*, shows how G must be regarded as independent of M.

The case of the group *kunišn* provides an insight into the mechanism of the transmission. The detailed correspondence of M to D is as follows:

(*c*) *āhrōnīh* = *al-'ulūm, wa-ašrafuhā al-'ilmu billāhi*

(*e*) *wāstriyōšīh* < *al-'imārāt* / *al-ṣinā'āt, wa-ašrafuhā al-kitāba*

(*d*) *ardēštārīh* = *al-furūsiyya*

(*a-b*) *ahlawīh, druwandīh = al-fiqh*

It is possible to understand the process which brought about this translation by noticing that a similar division of society is given in the *Letter of Tansar*:[4]

aṣḥāb-i dīn, muqātil, kuttāb, miḥna

which keeps closer to the order of D, but divides society into four, rather than three, classes, and does so in a manner identical with M. We know in the Sasanian period of two traditions concerning the division of estates in society: one into three, representing perhaps a learned anachronism, based as it is on the Avestan traditions, and the other into four, which constitutes a living conception.[5] The only evidence for an Islamic interference with this text in M lies in the fact that the warrior class is relegated to the bottom of the social hierarchy from the second place which is reserved for it in all the Sasanian lists. The fact that M's *Vorlage* had four classes inevitably caused the two items referring to righteousness and wickedness to be telescoped into one, represented by "the law". G has only three classes, but its original is likely to have had four classes: *dabīrī* is clearly a concept which belongs to the fourfold division.[6] The equivalent of M's *al-'imārāt* (= Tansar's *miḥna*) seems to have been lost from G. T freely transposes for the three classes of P the three divisions of sciences: medicine, astronomy and philosophy.

[1] The comparative table on p. 298 may prove helpful in clarifying the following discussion.

[2] Cf. e.g., the group *kunišn*, where the elements a, b come in the last two positions, as in P; or *gōhr*, where the order is: a (?), m, n, d, e, with the same m,n, occurring also in P (but not in M). [m, n etc. signify new items, not identical with a – e, which are the items in D.]

[3] Under *kunišn* both M and G have the item "horsemanship", which does not occur in T.

[4] *Nāma-yi Tansar*, ed. Minovi, Tehran 1932, 12. Cf. M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar*, Rome 1968, 38.
[5] Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran*, 98.
[6] Cf. *kuttāb* in *Tansar*, *al-ṣinā'āt* with the specification *al-kitāba* in M.

D 1b. *1.* Quoted by Menasce, *Locust's Leg*, 186 f.

D 1b. *2.* *cīš* is puzzling. It probably refers to something which is of the essence of religion.

D 1c. *1.* The definitions of "character" and "wisdom" occur, with a difference, in 4. The same definitions are given in Misk., *JX*, 38.22-23 (attributed to Buzurjmihr).

D 2. *1.* Quoted by M.-L. Chaumont, *RHR*, 156 (1959), 2-4.

D 2. *2.* Ādur-Narse is a common personal name, as can be seen from Justi, *Iran. Nb.*, 3 (Ādharnarseh). Ādur-Mihr is not recorded in Justi's *Iran. Nb.*

D 2. *3.* The idiom *ērbadestān kardan* means "to attend the *ērbadestān*, to study", as can be seen from the passages quoted under *ērbadestān* in the Index.

D 2. *4.* *handāxtan* in the sense of "to happen" occurs also in the following sections.

D 2. *5.* The practical moral drawn by them from the edifying insight which they had, obviously was that they should cease from pursuing worldly matters, of which their journey to the court was one.

D 3. *1.* Quoted (with a somewhat different interpretation) by M.-L. Chaumont, *RHR*, 156 (1959), 2-6.

D 3. *2.* On the habit of oral recitation of the Avesta cf. J.-B. Chabot, *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques*, 7 (1897), p. 525, translated on p. 491; and F. Nau, *RHR*, 95 (1927), 180.

D 3. *3.* This could also be translated: "he heard their words," but seems less likely in the context.

D 3. *4.* The idiom *kār ud bār* is obviously the same as the corresponding NPers. expression.

D 3. *5.* This expression would seem to make sense if by the words *bawandag āzādīhā dād* one may assume that he gave presents as a token of approval. One may of course also interpret this expression by referring it to

the work done by the two priests, which they state is not done out of economic necessity, but by preference to doing manual work.

D 3. *6.* On *huniyāg*, if the reading is correct, cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 113 f.

D 4. *1.* On *a-wizīrišnīg* cf. Shaked, *IOS*, 4 (1974), 242 n. 72.

D 5. *1.* Quoted by M.-L.Chaumont, *RHR*, 156 (1959), 2-7.

D 5. *2.* Wehdād, son of Ādur-Ohrmazd, is not known to me apart from the few sections in *Dk* VI where he is quoted. He may, however, be the person referred to in *Nir. facs.* 63b 4, where it is just possible that the name should be completed: *[weh-dād ī] ādur-ohrmazdān*. Wehdād's father may be the sage Ādur-Ohrmazd mentioned in *ŠnŠ* I 3.[1] The name occurs as Hū(r)št in Parsee NPers.[2]

[1] Cf. Tavadia's note ad. loc., p. 29 (note 8).
[2] Cf. Dhabhar's translation of *PersRiv Hormazyar*, 335, note 2.

D 5. *3.* The idea that the *gētīg* world represents a mixture, while in *mēnōg* good and evil are separate and pure is a commonplace of the Zoroastrian literature. An *andarz* text extant only in Arabic which sets out this idea in detail is found in Misk., *JX*, 40.3 ff.

D 7b. *1.* A longer version of this saying is in **A 5.**

D 7c. *1.* The interpretation of *māyagwarīh* is uncertain.

D 7d. *1.* There are three cases, above **59**, **100** and **308** (if the reading is correct), where we seem to have clear instances of *ēnyā* used as a conjunction in the sense of "besides, moreover, otherwise".[1] Here and in **185** one has *ēnyā* following a nearly identical phrase: *ce farrox hān ī arzānīg* (**185**), and one wonders whether *ēnyā* is not to be taken as a particle concluding the phrase, with the effect of underlining or emphasizing; it is possible to think, as an analogy, of NPers. colloquial *dige* (*digar*), which has a similar semantic frame of associations and a similar kind of use as a vague particle of emphasis.[2] It seems, however, more consistent to take *ēnyā* in all cases where it does not constitute the post-position to the phrase *be...ēnyā* as a conjunction.
Outside of *Dk* VI the following instances of *ēnyā* as a conjunction can be referred to: *MHD* 58.5; 72.11,[3] and the following sentences:

[I] *agar*[4] *xwāstag bawēd naxust āb ud raz ud zamīg wēš xar, ce agar bar ne jahēd ēnyā*[5] *bun pad miyān bawēd* (*PhlT* 61, *AdMah* §43) "If you have wealth, first buy much water, vines and land, for even if fruit does not come forth, the capital is at hand".

[II] *hu-xēm ud drust *ud kār-āgāh mard agar ōh-ez škōh hād, pas-ez dā-mādīh kun ēnyā* xwāstag *az yazdān rasēd* (*PhlT* 62, *AdMah* §55) "Make a man of good character, healthy and skillful your son-in-law, even though he be poor. Wealth, moreover, comes from the gods".

ane-z seems to be attested once in a similar function:

[III] *drust āmad hē to ardā wirāz ka-t ane-z āmad[an] zamān ne būd* (*AVn* IV 4) "You are welcome, You, Ardā Wirāz, even though the time of your coming has not yet arrived".

The use of *ēnyā* in the combination *be* (or *jud*). . .*ēnyā*, its reading and etymology, have been discussed often.[6]

[1] Cf. MPT 'n'y in M2 R1 12 (*MirMan*, II).
[2] Cf. G. Lazard, *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, Paris 1957, 122.
[3] Bthl, *ZSR*, I, 9, 12.
[4] One should possibly read: XT[t] = *agar-et*.
[5] All MSS but MK (and JJ which is a copy of it) have *ēnyā*. The editor preferred MK's *ēg-eš* (where the suffixed pronoun is unjustified).
[6] Bthl, *SRb*, 10; *WZKM*, 25 (1911), 309 f.; Tavadia, *OLZ*, 1926, p. 825. Cf. Inscr. MPers. 'yny': references are in Gignoux, *Gloss. des inscr.*, s.v.

D 7e. *1.* This section forms one unit with **D 8**.

D 8. *1.* **D 8-D 12** are quoted by Faravashi in *Našriyya-ye Anjoman-e Farhang-e Irān-e bāstān*, I, 2 (1342), 44-58.

D 8. *2.* Ādurbād, son of Zardušt, has a short *andarz* text atrributed to him,[1] apart from the two sayings **D 8** and **D 9**. He is also mentioned in *Dk* III 137,[2] according to which he lived at the time of King Yazdegerd son of Shapur (399-421 A.D.). His father was probably Zardušt son of Ādurbād, himself an author of *andarz*,[3] and his grandfather the famous Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān.[4] Ādurbād ī Zarduštān is mentioned as an authority in *PhlY* Introduction 15 (p. 4).

[1] *PhlT* 81 f.
[2] *DkM* 140.12-17. Cf. West, *GIPh*, II, 113 §75; Molé, *Culte*, 52.
[3] He is supposed to be the author of *PN*: Cf. West, *GIPh*, II, 111 §70; 112 §73.
[4] West, *GIPh*, II, 113 §75.

D 9. *1.* The same saying in substance is attributed to Xusrō in *PhlT* 57 (*AXus* §11). Cf. Kanga, *Cītak Handarž*, p. iii.

D 10. *1.* The first of these two names is fairly common in Sasanian and post-Sasanian times.[1] Both Ādurfarnbag and Ādurbōzēd are, however, mentioned together (as well as a third sage, Windād[2]), in the Epistles of

Mānušcihr,[3] as examples of *mōbadān mōbad* in some past period. However, from the context in Mānušcihr it does not seem that they were supposed to have lived as contemporaries.

[1] Cf. Justi, *Iran Nb.*, 48 f., s.v. Atarex^{w}arenaŋh.
[2] By error for Wehdād?
[3] Epistle I, ch. X 8.

D 10. *2.* For *ēbār* cf. the recurrent phrase in Kirdīr's inscriptions, 'ywb'ly; for references see now Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 19.

D 10. *3.* A somewhat better translation may be: "Are you perchance of this (kind, scil. like me), that when I warm up for a righteous purpose I never cool off?"

D 11. *1.* The NPers. version in M 55 is versified and rather free and cannot be used to clarify this passage significantly.

D 11. *2.* For a discussion of *mērag* cf. Bthl., *SRb*, 16; *WZKM*, 27 (1913), 366; *ZSR*, I, 37 f.; III, 25 f.

D 11. *3.* *ranz-spōz* seems to be an established technical term. It occurs above, **18**, and below, **E 22a**, as well as in the following passage: *gētīg pad ispanj dār ud tan pad āsān, nēwagīh pad kardan dār, bazag pad ranz-spōz, mēnōg pad xwēš-kunišn* (*PhlT* 56 f., *AXus* §10) "Hold this world as an inn and the body as worthless; hold goodness by doing (it), sin by repelling pain, and the next world by doing your own (duty)".
A similar compound, *āhōg-spōz* "that which repels faults", is attested in *DkM* 250.10 f. The NPers. version in M 55 has what has been read by Bartholomae as 'wr-swz. The reading is not entirely certain. Similar symbolical proper names are attested in *Dk* VII, x:16-17: *harwisp-tarwēnīdār, sūdōmand-pērōzgar, tan-kardār* with eschatological associations. In the *now-rūz* and *mihragān* festivals a man calls himself *xujaste*, cf. Jāḥiz, *Al-Maḥāsin wa-l-aḍdād*, Cairo 1330H/1912, 274.

D 11. *4.* *ke* occurs here for *ce*.

D 11. *5.* The NPers. version of M 55 has here: nt'nd[1] std 'z tw ks prwrš "No one can take the nourishment from you", which seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the original.

[1] For ntw'nd = *na tuvānad*.

D 12. *1.* I have no other information about Ohrmazd ī Sigzīg.

D 12. *2.* *andar be widīrišnīh* might signify: "concerning transience" (though one should have expected *abar*).

E 1. *1.* *warz ud kišw* should properly mean the agricultural activity,[1] not "tilled field", but cf. NPers. *kišt, kištvarz,*[2] *kišt u barz,*[3] *barz.*[4]

[1] Cf. Bailey, *ZorPr*, 91 note 2.
[2] In the Shahnama, cf. Wolff, *Glossar.*
[3] In the sense of "agriculture", cf. Lazard, *Langue des plus anc. mon.*, 140.
[4] Cf. Steingass, s.v.

E 2. *1.* A parallel to this saying occurs in **302.**

E 3. *1.* A parallel to this saying occurs in **E 31e.**

E 4. *1.* Cf. above, **20.**

E 5. *1.* For this phrase cf. above, **13.**

E 9. *1.* Cf. Pagliaro, *Riv. indo-greco-italica*, 13 (1929), 66.

E 9. *2.* *yazd* is quite regularly used with a verb in the plural. Instances for this in *Dk* VI are: **95, 98, 101, 106, 112, 113, 130, 170, 210, 214, 221, 222, 265, 302, 306.**

E 10. *1.* Another version of this saying is in **187-188.**

E 11. *1.* Another version of this saying is in **94.** A different text about wine drinking, enumerating the benefits coming to a moderate drinker, is in *MX* XV 15 f.

E 13. *1.* This and the next section belong with each other like a riddle and its solution.

E 16. *1.* *rēbagīh* is presumably a cognate of *riftagīh*: cf. note to **C 9.** The word occurs also in *Dd* XXXI 10:

> *ud pad hān ī abar-tom šōyišnīh pad hān ī widāxtag āhēn be yōšdahrihēnd az dast rēbag ud pad xwābarīh ud abaxšīdārīh ī xwābarān abar-tom āmurzihēnd ud az *nīdom abēzagān bawēnd* "In that supreme washing with that molten metal there will be washed away from the hand deceit, and they will be forgiven and become pure from the lowest by the benevolence and mercy of the supreme among the benevolent".

E 19. *1.* That is, its suppression. A similar expression is in Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat*, 42, 44 attributed to the Prophet of Islam.

E 22a. *1.* The implication of this saying seems to be that when people are indifferent to the world, it bestows on them its benefits. A similar idea is

in **E 22c.** This and the following sections, attributed to Baxt-Āfrīd, are characterized by a taste for paradoxical formulations. A saying based on this one and attributed to Buzurjmihr is found in several Arabic sources. Cf. *Al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn et al., I, Cairo 1940, 265 lines 9-10 (where references to *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār* and *Nihāyat al-arab* will be found). It says: "If this world turns towards you, get away from it, and it will not decay; if it turns away from you, get away from it and it will not stay".

E 22b. *1.* The verb *sūdan* belongs no doubt to the noun *sūdagīh*: cf. above, **37.**

E 22d. *1.* Another version of this saying is recorded:

> *ēn-ez guft ku agar hamāg mardom ī gētīg ō ham rasēnd, ēg-ez man tawāngar kardan ne šāyēnd, ce ka pad ēwag dast stānēm ud pad didīgar dast dahēm rōz pad man be mānēd* (*PhlT* 81 §2) "He (= Baxt-Āfrīd) said this too: If all the people in the world assemble together, they cannot be more powerful than I am, for when I take with one hand and give with the other, the day remains mine".

For *rōz* in the sense of victory cf. Farhang-i Nafīsī's definition of *rūz*: *"tuvānāī va zūr va quvvat va jarāʾat va mardānagī"*. Cf. *IOS*, 4 (1974), 232.

E 22e. *1.* *āwām-menišnīh* seems to belong to *āwāmnīh* "joy", on which cf. **C 57.**

E. 22f. *1.* The somewhat free and versified NPers. version in M 55 is helpful in establishing some of the readings of the Pahlavi text. Cf. Bartholomae, *Zendhdschr.*, 181, 377; *ZKMirMund*, II, 35 f.

E 22f. *2.* For *xwār* "smooth, level" cf. NPers., e.g. *BQ* s.v.

E 22f. *3.* Bartholomae would read here **abar *šustan.*

E 23. *1.* This sentence is not clear.

E 28. *1.* Quoted by Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 56 f.

E 29. *1.* For *pattōg* cf. Bthl., *ZSR*, III, 53 note.

E 29. *2.* *attān* seems to be capable of meaning both "wealth" and "a person possessing wealth", hence, in a legal sense, "solvent, a person possessing sufficient means"; cf. Bthl., *ZSR*, III, 53 note; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 193 f.; Perikhanian, *Sas. sudebnik*, 442. It occurs several times in *Dk* III, ch. 43, a text which defeated J. de Menasce, *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, Paris 1973, 43. The text can be read and rendered as follows:

> *dānišn(īg)*[1] *attān ō xwāstag attān; kam-attān [ī] dānišn pad dānišn;*

*xwāstag attān ō dānišn attān; kam-attān [ī] xwāstag pad xwāstag taftīg [ud] rād. nērōg attān az attān ī-šān harw 2 sazāgīhā bahrwar. pad nērōg ō-šān harw 2 *bawandag pānag bawēd. hambāstag spurr-xwēšēnīdār bawēnd ī 2 axwānīg nēwagīh. ud pad-eš ārāyihēd wirāyihēd pērāyihēd gēhān, *abzāyihēnd weh-dahišnān, bōzihēnd ud burzihēnd mardom* (*DkM* 36, B 26) "A man possessed of knowledge is ambitious and generous[2] towards attaining wealth; a man of little knowledge is ambitious and generous in (the matter of) knowledge. A man possessed of wealth is ambitious and generous towards attaining knowledge; a man of little wealth is ambitious and generous in (the matter of) wealth. A man possessed of power partakes appropriately of the possession of these two things (i.e. knowledge and wealth). He becomes a perfect protector of these two things by means of power, and they acquire together the good of the two worlds. Through this the world is equipped, arranged and adorned, the good creations increased, and people saved and exalted".

[1] The chapter begins with the words *hād ka weh-dēn nigēzīg dānišnīg attān...* where I believe there is an intrusion of the formula *az nigēz ī weh-dēn*, which belongs to the title.

[2] *rād* "generous" does not seem a very appropriate word to go with *taftīg* "ardent, ambitious".

E 30a. *1.* Quoted partly by K.H. Mirza, *Unvala Mem. Vol.*, Bombay 1964, 156. Cf. Shaki, *ArOr*, 41 (1973), 143 n. 68.

E 30a. *2.* For the reading *gilag-ōbār* cf. **29.**

E 30b. *1.* A parallel to this saying is in **189.**

E 31b. *1.* Partly quoted by Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 57; M. Boyce, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. IV, Abschnitt 2, Lfg. 1, p. 53.

E 31d. *1.* Partly quoted by Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft*, 57.

E 31e. *1.* A parallel to this section occurs in **E 3.**

E 31g. *1.* A parallel text occurs in **153.**

E 31g. *2.* For *hu-dīdag* cf. NPers. *xūb-dīda.*

E 32. *1.* The reading (this is Sanjana's emendation) is doubtful. The reading could easily be *attān* (often spelled 'tyn), but it does not seem to give a satisfactory meaning.

E 33. *1.* The reading is doubtful. One might also think of *nīdagīh*

"submission" (from "being led"). A similar problem exists with regard to *GBd* 4.15, where it comes as an epithet of Gannāg Mēnōg, and should perhaps be read *wadag*. Cf. Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 162 (who favours **nitak*).

E 35b. *1.* A variant of this saying is in **208** above.

E 36. *1.* The same idea is expressed in **2, 183.**

E 37. *1.* The translation is somewhat doubtful.

E 38a. *1.* The same text is in **115.** Section **253** has a similar theme.

E 38a. *2.* The transmission of the text here has been disturbed, with *dēn* displaced and apparently added at the end. The items *hunar* and *xwarr* also suffer from faulty transmission.

E 38b. *1.* Cf. above **119.**

E 38c. *1.* Cf. above **120.**

E 38d. *1.* The reading of the last two words, and the meaning of the whole of the last sentence, are quite doubtful.

E 38e. *1.* Quoted (and somewhat differently interpreted) by Molé, *Culte*, 213 f.

E 38e. *2.* Much remains doubtful in this translation.

E 43b. *1.* *ēwagānag-menišnīh* has the same components basically as NPers. *yakmaniš*: cf. also Av. *hamō.manah-*, Skt. *ekamas-*, Bactrian εωομαο.[1]

[1] W.B. Henning, *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), 51 and note 7.

E. 43c. *1.* For *frōdmānd* cf. *MX* LII 7; *PRivDd* 182.13; *ZXA* 58.8; *Pāz T* 121. A discussion of this word is in Mizra's thesis, p. 484.

E 43e. *1.* For *sahišn* "approval" cf. *MX* VII 15; XXXIX 22; XLI 5, and Bthl., *ZSR*, III, 9, 12, 22-25.

E 45b. *1.* Or: "taught" (?).

E 45b. *2.* Cf. *waxš* "interest", Bthl., *WZKM*, 27 (1913), 372 note 1; *ZSR*, I, 8, 23; Armenian *vašx*, Hübschmann, *ZDMG*, 46 (1892), 329; In Pahlavi: *PhlT* 60 (*AdMah* §22); *Dd* IX 1, 2. This is of course a specialized sense of *waxš* "increase" *GBd* 48.14; *DkM* 345.6, 8.
One might alternatively think of **waxš* "brilliance" attested to my knowledge

COMMENTARY

only as a verb *waxš-* "to flame, blaze", *DkM* 602.11; 610.10;[1] *Kn* I 11, and an adjective *waxšāg AVn* XIV 14.
waxšīh is hardly likely to belong to *waxš* "spirit".[2]

[1] Cf. Bailey, *BSOS*, 6 (1930/32), 596 and note 1; Nyberg, *Hlfsb*, II, 232.
[2] Though a combination like *mēnōg-waxšīhā* (*Dd* II 5) may be recalled.

E 45d. *1.* A partial parallel is in Misk., *JX*, 77.1-5.

E 45h. *1.* Cf. **114** for the same text.

E 45i. *1.* This word is obviously from *waxš-* "to grow"; unlike the similar looking word in *MX* XXVII 2, 8, 9; *PhlT* 137 §29, where the meaning required by the context and by the Sanskrit translation is "enduring, forbearing". A. Tafazzoli, *Vāže-nāme-ye Mīnū-ye Xerad*, Tehran 1348/1969, 224, follows Zaehner, *BSOS*, 9 (1937/39), 107, in reading it as a derivative of *xšad-*, with preverb *vi* or *ni*. One would be tempted to read the word as derived from *baxš* "lot, fate" (by hypercorrection?); cf. *ba(h)ristān* "patient", on which see Zaehner, op. cit., 107 ff.

E 45i. *2.* The same opposition *šnāyišn/bēš* occurs also in **191**.

E 45j. *1.* This translation of the second part of the sentence is supported by the NPers. version: *ba ō dīgar ānrā vih kardan.*

E 45k. *1.* An explanatory gloss in *PersRiv Hormazyar* says: *ya'nī az mīnū-yi rawšanān āmad kirfa va ašāyih kunīd tā ōy mīnū-yi rawšan tuvānīd šudan* (489:2 f.) "That is to say, he came from the spiritual world of the Luminaries. Do ye good deeds and piety so that you may go to the luminous spiritual world".

E 45l. *1.* The NPers. version has here *awazūnī*, which is probably a misunderstanding.

E 45m. *1.* The verb *mōšīdan* occurs also in *DkM* 137.15. Cf. further references in Menasce, *Apologétique*, 239.

Glossary and Indexes

Glossary and Index of Pahlavi Words

The Glossary lists all occurrences of words, including proper names, in *Dk* VI. It also serves as an index for words discussed in the Commentary. References to the Commentary are given in the following style: "Cf. A 6c. *3.*". Numbers in brackets indicate restored words. Numbers with an asterisk indicate an occurrence where the word was corrected.

A

ā particle (serving to introduce a main clause after a temporal one) **52**

āb water **164 208 209 219 308 C83a D2 D3 E35b**. See also *tang-ābīh, was-ābīh*

ābādān populous, prosperous **234**. *~īh* **304 C55**

ābādīh **185 A6b**

abāg with *passim*. *~īh* companionship **E25**

abām credit, loan **A6**. Cf. A6c. *3.*

abar on, about, concerning *passim*. *~-menišnīh* haughtiness **E35b**. *~-tan* arrogant, haughty **C41**. *~īh* **[B14] B35 E20**

ābār far, removed **74 100 152 158 C70 E16**. Cf. 74. *1.* *~-būd* **26**. Cf. 26. *4.*

ābārag Cf. 74. *1.*

abārīg other, remaining **33 81 89 90 103 166 175 208 209 219 230 231 233 239 288 305 321 B15 C27 C37 C48 D3-D5 E23 E35b E38e**

ābārih- Cf. 74. *1.*

abarmān, abarmānīg Cf. 82a. *1*n.

abarmānd heritage **D1a**

abārōn sinful **54 68 71 226 236 244 290 C50 C68**. *~īh* **43 69 82a 136**

303. *~-kāmag* of sinful desire **136**. *~-zadārīh* wicked chastisement **B14 B40**

abarwēz victorious 250 C82. *~īhā* **307**

abastāg the Avesta 125 **182 217 266 299 B12 C27 D3 D5 D10 E38e E45c.** *~ ī pad camišn* "the Avesta of Urination" **125**. Cf. **125**. *1*. See also *was-abastāg, zand-abastāg*

abastān trust **152** 291 E9

a-bawandagīh dissatisfaction **C58**

abaxš contrite **50** 168 219 227 315 **E31d**. Cf. **50**. *2*.

abaxšāyīdan, abaxšāy- to forgive **243**. to withhold, withdraw **A1 E23**. Cf. **A1**. *1*.

abaxšāyišn forgiveness, compassion **15 B14 B31**

abāyestan, abāyēd to have to **23 59 76 83 91 100 103 104 107 111 134 141 148** 161 **182 198 208 217 238 244 247 267 271 304 309 [315] A6** B10 **B47 B53 C32 C37 C43 C44 D2-D5 D6b D9 D12 E16 E22c E22f E30a* E31f E32 E34b E35b E38f E42 E43b E45n**

abāyišnīg seemly, necessary **E32**. *~-tar* **C83e D7d**

abāz back *passim*

abd wonderful 237 **D5**

abdom last; ultimately **152 201 242 279 297 309 311 E22c E31c E34c.** *~ rōz* **17**

abē-āmāragīh freedom from the reckoning **E30a**

abē-astānag(?) without calamity(?) **73**

abē-bīm secure, without fear **44**. *~-tar* **C61**. *~īh* **304 E30a E32**

abēbūd deficiency 38 **42 172 245 D1c**

abē-gāh out of place **C15 C43 C64**

abē-gumān certain, having no doubt **23 98**. *~īh* **84 167**

abē-kār ineffective, inoperative **E39**

abē-nām nameless E22c

abēr very **14** 59 65 **89 91 97 99 104 108 115 116 120 128 132 138 153 161 162** 165 **167 168 173 179 181 188 189 193 222 226 241 242**

244 249 257 268 269 307 310 A6 E31g E38a E45h. *~-tar* **89 105 125 127 139 198 281 294 323 C7 C30 C41 D1a D3 E38c E42.** *~agānīhā* extensively, excellently **75**

abē-rāh pathless **173**

abē-rīman without defilement, undefiled **162**

abē-sūd without benefit, profit **304**. *~gārīh* **B14 B38**

abē-wēnāft invisible **248**

abē-wināh free from sin, righteous **78 318 319**. *~īhā* **45**

abē-wizand free from damage, free from harm **162 E38f**

abēzag pure, undefiled **97 E8**. *~īh* **267 E22e**

abgandan, abgan- to throw **D12**. *abar ~* **47 74**

a-bōzišnīg doomed, without salvation **E34c**

abrāz height, loftiness **E43e**

abrōxtan, abrōz- to kindle **225* 225 313**

absard cool **78 D10**

absihīdan, absih- to destroy **242 264 265 271 297 307**. *absihih-* **275**. *absihēnīdan* **71 135**

absihišn destruction **268**. *~īgīh* **E31c**

absōs mockery, scoffing (n.) **C35 C83c**. *~gar* **B51 C4**. *~garīh* **B14 B32**

abspārdan, abspār- to dedicate, to deliver, surrender **28 166 289 E1 E31c**. See also *tan-abspār*

a-burd-framān disobedient **C8**. *~īh* **E40**

aburnāyag (aburnāyīg) child; young **E30b** (*-īg*) **189**

a-burzišnīgīh lack of respect **C60**

ābustan pregnant, conceiving **262**

abzār tool, faculty, power **103 104 115 117 161 227 253 C83b D7b E38a E43b E45j E45n**. Cf. **161**. *1*. *~īh* abundance **304**. Cf. **304**. *2*. *~ōmand* **239 242 D2 D3 D5**. Cf. **71**. *3*. See also *hamāg-abzār, tawān-abzār, was-abzār, wuzurg-abzār*

abzāyēnīdār furtherer, increaser **C83a**

abzāyišn increase C57 C83a E45i

abzōn bounty, increase 319 E35c. See also *was-abzōn*

abzūdan, abzāy- to grow, increase 21 72 189 213 242 244 C63 C69 C75 C82 E25 E30b E38d. *abzāyīdan* 242 C69 C70. *abzāyēnīdan* 79

a-cār without choice, inevitable 100 169 270 E45c. *pad-~* 100. *~ag* D4 E45c. *~agīhā* E30a. *~īh* 141

a-dādestān-kunišnīh unlawful action C82

a-dānīhā ignorantly, without knowledge 170

a-drōw unlying, truthful 60

ādug capable 128

ādurbād pr. n. C83d D7b D7c D7d D9. *~ ī mahraspandān* A5 A6 D1a D7a. Cf. A5. *1.*; D8. *2.* *~ ī zarduštān* D8. Cf. D8. *2.*

ādurbōzēd pr. n. D10. Cf. D10. *1.*

ādur-burzēnmihr the fire Burzēnmihr 293

ādur-farnbag the fire Farnbag 293

ādurfarnbag pr. n. D10. Cf. D10. *1.*

ādur-gušnasp the fire Gušnasp 293

ādur-mihr pr. n. D2. Cf. D2. *2.*

ādur-narsē pr. n. D2. Cf. D2. *2.*

ādur-ohrmazd pr. n. See *wehdād*

a-frasāwand intransient 180 229 248

āfrīgānīh *frāz* ~ blessing(?) Op. Sec. 289. Cf. Op. Sec. a. *3.*

āfrīn blessing, praise 123 E32* (?)

a-friyād without rescue B53

āgāh informed 83 214 323 C46. *~īh* E38e. See also *duš-āgāh*

agar if 23 31 51 59 60 112 136 142 144 147 153 167 170 184 188 196 224* 236 292 302 303 310 315 D3 D10 D12 E2 E45e. *agar agar* alternative 303

ag-dēn of bad religion 292 321. *~ān* 288. *~īh* 246 321 B14 B24

āgnēn together 111 146 320 D3 D5 E31g E45d

a-gōwand mute, incapable of speech 23. Cf. 23. *7.*

ag-ruwān of corrupt soul *~tar* C27. *~īh* 269

a-gumānīh (being) without doubt; certainty D1b

āhan iron E22f

āhang inclination. *~īg* 143. *~išn-ciš īh*(?) E38d

āhangar(āhangār) blacksmith E22f. *(-gār)* 305. *~īh* E22f

ahe before. *cand ~* as soon as possible 275

āhīd aroused, incited 78. Cf. 78. *6.*

āhixtan, āhinz- to draw, raise up D3 E22f. *frāz ~* E22d

ahlamōg heretic 216 231 C83d E45d. *~ān* 68 216 231 C28. *~īh* 21 47 128 159 245 246 B14 B28 C26

ahlaw righteous 41 101 161 169 273 274 289 310 322 325 B8. *~-tar* E31g. *~ān* 123 166 206 269. *~īh* 267 D1a

ahlāy See *srōš-ahlāy*. *~īh* righteousness 18 19 27 51 94 113 132 139 163 211 236 267 283 301 A6 D10 E11 E17 E45m. *~īh-paymōgīh* 267

āhōg fault, defect 71 78 115 212 224 228 C12 C18 C23 C33 C77-C79 C83c E38a E43b E43e E45b E45l. *~ōgārīh* removal of fault(s) 120. *~spōz* Cf. 18. *1.*; D11. *3.* *~wirāyīh* the correction of faults 194. See also *an-āhōg*

ahreman 12 16 31 32 43 47 65 82a 123 141 168 169 172 196 227 243 249 258 264 265 272 278 297 300 307 308 A5 B1 B2 B3 D5 D7b E30a E31c E40

āhrōn priest 231. *~ān* 245 293 E45c. *~īh* B14 B28 D1a E45l

a-hunarīh lack of skill C56

a-hunsandīh discontent (n.) 71 B14 B21 C17 C21 D4 D11

a-kāmōmandīhā unwillingly, against one's will A2

a-kārag without activity 200

a-kerdār inaction *~īh* E45a. *~-gōwišnīh* C64

akōman a demon ("Evil Mind") 1b 77 78 87 193. Cf. 1b. *3.*

ālūdagīh filth, pollution E31b

āmadan, āy- to come **61 79 87 97 106 113 216 231 304 C26 D3 D9 E11 E45k.** *ul ~* **290 317.** *frāz ~* **D3.** See also *madan*

amāh we *passim*

amahraspand (the deities) **23 91.** *-ān* **88 123 301.** (the elements) **288.** Cf. **88.** *1.*

āmār trial, reckoning **122 218 227 276 304 E3 E34c.** *~ ī mēnōgān* **101 106 211 218 219 280 304 306.** *~ōmandīh* **D2.** *~-kašīh* vengefulness **B14 B41 C31.** Cf. **B14.** *21.*; **C53.** *1.* See also *abē-āmāragīh, an-āmārīh, hu-āmārīh, pan-āmār, wad-āmār*

āmārēnīdan, āmārēn- to reckon **E31e**

a-marg immortal **309.** *~īh* **267**

a-mēnōg-warrawišnīh lack of faith in the spiritual world **C54**

āmēxtan, āmēz- to mix **16**

āmōxtan, āmōz-/āmōxt- to teach; to learn **146 212 217 223* 224 284 322 E45l**

āmōzišn teaching **223**

amurdad a deity ("Immortality") **114 E45h.** plants **294**

an (pron. 1st sg., casus rectus) **59 143 169 238 304**

ānāb-, ānābagīh Cf. **B14.** *17*n.

anabāy improper (?) **86***

ana-bīm unafraid **234**

anābuhragān unatonable **72 100 166 272.** *~īh* **100**

anāg evil, harmful **142 144 269 E8.** *~īh* evil, discomfort **2 16 25 26 65 100 113 140 142 144 153 170 195 196 237 244 249 271 304 306** 307 **A5 B1 B2 B3 C76 D4 D5 D7b.** *~-kāmag* wisher of evil **243 E31g.** *~īh-kamag* evil-wisher **153.** *~-menišnīh* evil thinking **269**

an-āhōg without fault **314.** *~-tar* **90.** *~īh* **40**

ana-hunsand discontented **145 196 197.** *~īh* **196 C60**

an-āmārīh lack of accounting **C54**

an-anbasān harmonious, without conflict **318 324.** *~īh* **109**

an-āsānīh discomfort **106* C21 C60**

ana-spās ungrateful **C19 C45.** *~ān* **C19.** *~īh* **C52**

an-ast untrue, non-existent **C30.** *~agīh* **227.** *~īh* **231 E31c.** *~-menišnīh* **D1b**

ana-šnāsīh lack of knowledge **C76.** See also *yazdān-ana-šnāsīh*

an-āštīh lack of peace, disorder, enmity **72 C52 E11 E40 E41**

an-attānīh lack of power, wretchedness **C23 C56**

an-āwāmīh lack of enjoyment (?) **C60**

an-āyuxtagīh separation **B49**

ana-zād unborn **E35a**

an-āzīh lack of greed **C65.** Cf. **C65.** *1.*

anbasān(īh) See *an-anbasān(īh)*. Cf. **318.** *1.*

anbūh crowd **304 E27**

and several; much, this much **150 202 225 260(?) 262 B3 C2 E16.** *~ cand* **10 219.** *~ ciš* **110 115.** *ēn ~* **1c 66 93 94 134 138 241 242 C48 C78 C79 E32 E38c E45h.** *hān ~* **71 166 C77**

andak a little, a small amount **78 171 211 218 257 275 304 A6 E13** *~-uzīnag* of little expense **310** *~-wināh* of little sin **169** *~-xwā-stagīh* paucity of wealth **71**

andar in *passim* *~-bīm* fearful *~-bīm-tar* **C62**

andarōn inside **E45b**

andarz advice, counsel **141 D12.** *~ ī ō mardomān* Cf. **141.** *1.*

andēšīdan, andēš- to think **16 200 243 269 272 D3 E31f**

andēšišn apprehension **69 70**

andōh worry **106**

ane other **71 80 100 189 209 269 E4 E30b**

an-ēmēd without hope **200**

an-ērān non-Iranians **206 E38e**

an-ēraxt not guilty **204.** Cf. **204.** *2.* See also *ēraxt, ēraxtan*

an-ērīh non-Iranian behaviour **246 255 256**

an-ēr-menišnīh lack of humility **C72**

angad wealthy, opulent **71**. Cf. **71**. *1*. *~-xwāstag* **71**. See also *ne-angad*

a-niyōšīdārīh lack of obedience **E40**

anjaman assembly **125 140 254 301 E45m**

anōdag alien **113**. *~ān* **267**

anōh there **1c 16** 58 **133 165 301 315 A6 D2 D7d E1 E10 E27 E45k**

anōš Cf. **82a**. *1n*.

anōšag immortal **E23**. *~īh* **C75**. *~-ruwān* See *xusrō ī anōšag-ruwān*

a'ōn thus *passim*

a-ōš immortal **B5 B6**. *~īh* **B5**

a-pādexšāy powerless, lacking authority **302 D9 E2**. *~īh* **E31a**

a-padīdīgīh lack of repentance **50**

a-pahrēxt unattended, unguarded **257**

a-passaxwīh lack of an answer **E45a**

a-paydāg non-manifest; effaced **225 315**

a-paymān in excess of the measure; immoderate **149 203 C15 C16 C21 C38 C40 C43**. *~īh* **99 C58**. *~īhā* **144**. *~-dārišnīh* **B14 B46**. *~-xwarišnīh* **B14 B46**. See also *gētīg-a-paymān-ārāy*

apparīh robbery **269**

appurdan, appar- to steal, rob **219 256 E45k E45l**

a-rāmišn without peace, repose *~tar* **C62**

ārāstan, ārāy- to embellish, adorn **149 150 307 319 E38f**. See also: *gētīg-a-paymān-ārāy, gētīg-frēhbūd-ārāy*

ard Cf. **1b**. *7*.

ardēštār of the warrior class *~ān* **293**. *~īh* **D1a E45l**

ardīg-kāmag (one) desiring battle **132**

ardwahišt a deity ("The Best Truth") **79 E45h**. (month name) **304**

arešk envy **23**

arg work, toil **80 81 305 [B14] B42 E29 B45e**. See also *ham-arg*

a-rōyišn up-rooting **113 118**

a-ruwānīh lack of possession of soul **C54**

arwand mighty **51**

arz value **302**. *~ōmand* **E30b**

arzānīg worthy **45 88 185 214 D7d**. *~tar* **90**. *~ān* **113 185 203* 214 D7d E23 E29**. *~īh* **127 319 E43d**. See also *marg-arzān(īh)*

ārzōg desire **175 198 D12 E8 E34c**

āsān easy; at ease, comfortable **225**. *~īh* **16 E30a E32**. *~-menišnīh* comforting thought **D7b**. See also *an-asānīh*

asēm silver **D3(?)**. *~ēn* adj. **175**

āsn-xrad innate wisdom **262 B11 B12 E45d**

asp horse **90**

a-srušt disobedient **B14 B19**. *~īh* **275**. Cf. **275**. *1*.

ast is, there is *passim*. *~ ī* sometimes, some (people) *passim*. *~agīh* existence **227**. *~īh* existence **231 D1b E31c**. See also: *an-ast, an-ast-menišnīh, an-astagīh, an-astīh*

astānag misfortune **73 C7**

āstawān one who has faith **115 317**. *~īh* **91 115 127 317 E38a**

astēnīdan, astēn- to establish **156**

ašawahišt a deity ("Best Truth") **114**

ašgahān lazy **71**. *~īh* **247 B14 B30 C56**

āškār open, public, manifest *~ag* **B48 C44**. *~agīh* **226 E38b**. *~īh* **119**

āšnāg acquainted (with) **105**

ašnūdag (something) heard **294**

ašnūdan, ašnaw- to hear **63 204* 204 241 242 294 D3 D5 E34c E39**

āšt peace **D1c**. *~īh* **78 108 254 C51 D1c E45m**. *~-xwāhīh* desire for peace **114 E11 E45h**. See also *an-āštīh*

aštar whip **206**

a-tawāngar powerless **277**

ātaxš fire **45 67** 219 **225 230 295 296 301 313 B9 B14 B18.** *~ān* **301** 323. See also *warhrān*

attān wealth, fortune *~-handōzišnīh* the amassing of fortune **E29.** Cf. **E29.** *2.* See also *an-attānīh*

āwām time **151 C79.** *~īh* alacrity **247.** enjoyment(?) **C57.** *~īhā* in joy, in ease(?) **B47.** *~-menišnīh* joyful(?) thought **E22e.** Cf. **151.** *1.*; **247.** *1.*; **C57.** *1.* See also *an-āwāmīh*

awar(ēd) (imper.) come **D7d.** *frāz ~* **D3**

a-wastār Cf. **B14.** *2.*

awe that (pron.) *passim*

awērān deserted **234**

awēšān they, those *passim*

a-wināh without sin *~-tar* **299.** *~īh* **8 109 267 E32 E45e E45f**

a-winast undiluted, unharmed, uninjured **300(?).** Cf. **300.** *2.*

a-wistāxwīh lack of confidence **B14 C52.** Cf. **B14.** *13.*

a-wizīdārīh lack of distinction, lack of discernment **99**

a-wizīrišnīgīhā without fail, necessarily **D4.** Cf. **D4.** *1.*

āwurdan, āwar- to bring **91 103 104 307 308 E45k E45m.** *ul~* **C26**

awwēnīdan, awwēn- to condemn, reproach **13 14 15 181 182 226 310* C20**

awwēnišn reproof, reproach **206 C83c**

a-xwēš-kārīh not doing one's duty **C56**

ayāb or **47 54** 62 **82a 83 93 100 104 105 136 189 203 213 219 222 227 233 234 244 292 298 302-304 315 A5 B47 B51 B53 C20 C35 C36 C38 D5** D7d **E2 E23 E30b (E31e) E38d E43c E45n**

ayābišn apprehension **E36**

ayād memory **16 199**

āyāft boon, blessing **170**

ayāftan, ayāb to find; to apprehend **E36**

ayārand abhorrent C46. *~-tar* **C46.** Cf. **C46.** *1.*

ayāristan, ayār- to be able **C65**

ayās- (ayyās-?) to long **57 58 218 304.** Cf. **57.** *2.*

āyišn coming **230**

ayōxšust metal **224.** *~īg* **90**

āyuxtagīh See: *an-āyuxtagīh*

az from, of *passim.* Cf. **206.** *2.* *~. . .rāy* Cf. **C54.** *1.*

āz greed, lust, concupiscence, craving **23 198 D2 E8.** See also: *an-āzīh*

āzād noble, free *~īh* praise giving; nobility; generosity, favour **23 113 210 286 302 E35c.** Cf. **23.** *5.* *~īhā* "praise be" **A5 D3 D7b.** Cf. **A5.** *3.* *~-mard* **310.** *~-mardān* **146.** *~-mardīh* **142 B14 B45**

āzār harm **52 71 C46 E31b**

āzardan, āzar- to afflict, offend **E43c**

āzārišn harm, vexation **E43a**

āzarmīg dear **148.** *~-tar* **33**

az-dahāg Aži Dahāk (demon) **B4 B6**

az-eš-keh one's inferior **49.** *~ān* **48**

az-eš-meh one's superior **49.** *~ān* **48**

āzwarīh covetousness, greed **269 C24 C66 E41**

B

bagōbaxt destiny, the decree of the gods **A6 C17 C57 C60 E45d**

bahr share **78 132 153 238 319 D5 E31g.** *az hān ~* "for that reason" **71.** *pad ~ ī xwēš* "for his own part" **71 80 232 264 292 D9 E30a.** See also *hu-bahr.* *~ag* share *az hān ~ag* **D7d**

ba(h)ristān Cf. **E45i.** *1.*

bālāy high **219**

bandag slave **D1b E43a.** *~ān* **E43a**

band-kār gaoler **305.** Cf. **305.** *1.*

bānūg See *kadag-bānūg*

bar fruit 2 79 **90 195 218 229 262 304 314 C83a D11 E41 E45e.** Cf. **229.** *2.* See also *kam-barīh*

bār[1] burden 305 **[B14] B42 D3 E45b**

bār[2] time, occasion **227 301 302 E2 E31c E31e**

barišn see: *ham-barišn(īh), kōstag-barišnīh*

barsom twigs used in ritual **257 295**

bastan, band- to tie, bind **128 314 E1.** See also *ham-bandišn*

bāstān always **113 250 B49 B51* B53 C3–C8 C10 C16 C17 C20 C23 C24 C30** C31 **C33 C37 C41 E6a E4 E9**

bawandag perfect, complete, sufficient, satisfying **75 142 143 144 145 175 250** 262 **302 319 D3* E43a (?).** *~-tar* **152.** *~īh* **259 B14 B22 C59.** *~-menīdan* to hold in reverence **113 C61.** *~-menišn* humble, modest **78.** *~-menišn-tar* **94.** *~-menišnīh* humility, reverence **114 C53 E11 E45c E45h.** Cf. *5. 3.*; *78. 7.*

baxš Cf. **E45i.** *1.*

baxt See *bagōbaxt*

baxt-āfrīd pr. n. **A4 E22a.** Cf. **A4.** *1.*

bazag sin **18 37 55 160 167 233 C54**

be outside: *az. . .be* **1c 111 129 133** *passim. be az* "outside" **30.** *be-tom* "outermost" **215 216.** but: *ne. . .be* **1c 168 169 175 176** *passim.* but (conjunction) **10 169** *passim*

bērōn outside 79 **E45b**

bēš grief, suffering **16 52 87 191 193 195 196 C10 C17 C40 C46 E31a E31b E45i.** See also *purr-bēšīh*

bēšēnīdan, bēšēn- to offend, afflict **E45i**

bešt afflicted (adj.) **208 E35b E35c**

bēz- (?) (pr. st.) to inflict pain (?) **C41.** Cf. **C41.** *2.*

bīm fear 26 48 **80 100 236 B27 B47 C44 C83e.** See also *abē-bīm(īh), ana-bīm, andar-bīm, pad-bīm*

bōy *~-kār* Cf. 305. *1.* See also *hu-bōy*

bōzāgīh salvation **241.** *~ā* **310**

bōzišn salvation; excuse **101 127 231 E31e E34b.** See also *a-bōzišnīg, purr-bōzišnīhā*

brād brother **D1b**

brādarōd false associate, false brother **246**

brāh luminosity **D1a**

brēh fate **D1a.** See also: *zad-brēhīh*

brīdan, brīn- to cut; to ordain, decide, do **167 225 233**

brihēnīdan, brihēn- to decree **A6**

būdan, baw- to be *passim. hād* **16 196 237.** See also *wanē-būd(ag)īh*

buland high *~-tar* **208**

bun root **79 91 A3 E45g** *pad ~* "in the first place", originally **262.** *~īh* **E3.** *~xān* source **21**

burdan, bar- to bear, carry **2 47 68 81 82a 90 106 113 142 144 169 185 242 272 287 304 305 306 308 315 323 A6 B14-B48 C1 C10 C16 C44 D4 D7d D10 E31f E44 E45e.** *barih-* **80 105 275.** *abar ~* **105 113 E38f.** *abar ~* "to win" **3.** See also *a-burd-framān-(īh), mānθr-barīh*

burdār bearer, carrier **249.** See also *framān-burdār(īh)*

burdīh patience **127 240 C81 E33.** See also *duš-burdīh*

burzēnmihr See *ādur-burzēnmihr*

burzīdan, burz- to praise **14 15 101 142* 146 181 182 280**

burzišn praise; respect **141 C55 C69 E31f E43e.** *~īg-tar* **E29.** *~ōmandīh* **C57.** See also *a-burzišnīgīh*

būšāsp sleep **D1a**

buxt saved **204 313.** *~agīh* salvation **E45f**

buxtan, bōz- to save **1c 59 84 85 120 126 237 291 D7a E20 E38c E38d E45l.** *bōzih-* **6 C53 C80.** Cf. **1c.** *2.*; **204.** *2.*

buz goat **90**

C

cābuk dainty; quick; light **319**

cagād mountain-top **208 209 E35b**

cāh well **D3**

cahārom fourth, fourthly **127 A5**

camišn urination 125. See also *abastāg*

cand as much as; several **32 140 150 157 166 173 202 212 214 262 275 302 303** 317 **C2 E16 E31g**. *cand wēšist* "as much, the most" **301**

cār escape, remedy **69 270 305 A6 C42 E31f E45c**. *~ag* **89 142 144 198 307** 308 **C9 D4 D5 E30a E45c**. See also *a-cār(īh), a-cārag(īhā)*

carag pasture **E1**

carb-ēwāzīh (being of) soft speech **E43e**

carm hide, skin 324

cāšīdan, cāš- to teach **C83d E45b**

cāšīdār teacher **310**

cašm eye **13** 82a 228. *~ō gēhān dāštan* Cf. **13**. *2*. See also *duš-cašmīh*

cašmag wealthy **143 145**. *~īh* wealth **142–145**

cāštan, cāš- to teach **254 C26 C26* C28**

ce[1] which, what *passim*. *~-nām* **D11**

ce[2] for, because **74 75 80**

ce'ōn like *passīm*

cēr victorious 256

cīdan, cīn- to pick, collect **D2**

cihr See *duš-cihr, hu-cihr, wad-cihr(ag)*

cim cause, reason **76* 101 297 D5 D9 E3 E27 E35a**. *~īg* well-founded, reasonable **E16**

cīnagīh Cf. **B14**. *17*. See also *tan-cīnagīh*

ciš thing *passim*. See also *āhangišn-cišīh*

D

dād law **Op. Sec. 37 114 C73 E45b E45h**. *~īhā* lawfully **106 206 319**. a division of the Avesta *~īg* **206**. *~īgān* **70**

dādan[1], *dah-* to give **48 90 91 102 142* 185 188 189 203 227 232 233 234 262 272 291 292 314 319 325 B10 C42 C77 C78 D2 D3 E6 E23 E24 E29 E30b E31g E45c**. *dahih-* **105**

dādan[2], *dah-* to create **11 79 101 124 135 276 279 308 A4 B1 D5 E35a**

dādan*[3], *dah-(?)* to instruct **254. Cf. *dahišn*[3]

dādār creator **Op. Sec.**

dādārīh donation **267**

dādestān (legal) matter, affair; law **104 224 315 C26 C31 C36 C73 C74 D1c D2 E45b**. *~īgīh* **254 B14 B41**. See also *a-dādestān-kunišnīh, druz-dādestān, meh-dādestānīhā*

dādwar judge **A6**. *~īh* **C73 C74**

dahān mouth **140**

dahīg Cf. **232**. *1*.

dahišn[1] giving, donation **A3***

dahišn[2] creation **A4 B2 B3 E45i**. See also *dām-dahišnīh, meh-sūd-dahišnīh*

dahišn[3] instruction **C83b**(?). Cf. **dādan*[3] and **254**. *2*.

dahom tenth, tenthly **127**

dām creation, creature **11 23 36 135 248 254 279 307 E45e E45i**. *~ān* **307 309 B2 B3 E38d**. *~dahišnīh* the creation of the creatures **258 E45k**

damān **141**. Cf. **141**. *3*.

dānag grain, seed **53**

dānāg wise, learned **1a 53** 82a **83 128 205 235 250 322 C83b D6a E42**. *~-tar* **299 323 C37**. *~ān* **63 250 312 323 D6a E16 E30b**. *~īh* **185 311 C83a**. *~īhā* **D3**. *~gōwišn-tar* **94**. *~-hayyār* **205**. *~-ne-hamēmār* **205**. See also *hu-dānāg*

dānistan, dān- to know **2 4 5 10 31 46 59 66 80** 82a **83 90 91 100 104 115 151 153 154 169 171 183 184 185 188 214 217 235 247 261**

262 274 282 298 303 304 308 B11 B12 [B12] B13 B14 B53 C2 C9 C15 C21 D3 D7d D7e D9 E12 E36 E38a E42 E44 E45c E45k E45m E45n. *dānih-* 6 262. See also *a-dānīhā*

dānišn knowledge 5 83 164 197 C83b D6a E36 E44

dar court; door; subject; chapter 113 187 A5 B15 D1a D2 E10 *~ī ātaxšān* 323. See also *wišād-darīh*

dār wood E22f

darag chapter, subject 66. Cf. 66. *1.*

dard pain 16 306 E31f. *~agīh* 72. *~īh* C52 C82. See also *dil-dardīh*

dārišn keeping, holding; possession 49 113 115 118 211 B14 B46 B47 C51 E10 E38a. *~īh* D5. See also *a-paymān-dārišnīh, nēst-dārišnīh, weh-dārišn, xwēšāwand-dārīh*

darmān drug, remedy 308 309 D5

dar-pānagīh guarding the gate 93

dārūg medicine, drug 308 E17

dast hand; power 1c 106 125 193 236 317 A6 C4 D3 E22d E39. *~-kir-rōgīh* skill B14 B38. *~-ranz* labour D3

dastwar authority; holder, occupier 30 53 92 122 240 252 303 E28. *~ān* 63 204. Cf. 92. *1.*; 303. *3.* *~īh* 59 252 E38e. *dēn-~* 53

dāšn present, gift 23 113 203 C19

dašt desert, plain 186 D12. *~ag* D2

dāštan, dār- to hold, have, keep, regard *passim.* *dārīh-* 6. See also *spāsdār(īh), wahman-dārīh*

daštān-marzīh intercourse with a woman in menstruation 220

dāštār one who keeps, maintains 48. *~īh* C83a

dawīh(?) Cf. C13. *1.*

daxšag mark 78 93 94 139 159 D7e E4 E11

dehbad ruler 30 232 233 234. *~ān* 122 123 245 300. *~īh* 163 232 [B14] B42

dēm (?) face, countenance. *pad dēm būdan* "to seem" (?) C41 C43

dēn religion Op. Sec. 1b 3 4 5 6 10 11 27 33 34 36 39 40 41 43 47 53 55 58 61 63 68 74 76 80 84 91 92 106 115 122 124 127 163 165 166 167 172 173 176 179 181 185 190 210 215 216 227 231 240 246 255 259 261 266 274 285 290 296 310 317 323 324 C75 C76 D1c E8 E38a E45b E45c E45d E45g. Cf. 16. *8.*; 3. *4.*; 4. *3.*; 5. *6.*; 91. *2.*; 290. *2.* *~-mehmānīh* 27. See also *ag-dēn, weh-dēn, xwadāy-dēnīh*

dēr long, late *~-tar* C67. *~-zīwišn* of long life 276

dēw demon 85 95 98 225 236 298 302 306 D7e D8 E2 E31e E34a E38d. *~ān* 43 89 95 101 123 133 206 227 236 272 298 307 A1 C78 E31c E38f. *~ān-xwēš* 73 272. *~-īzagīh* demon-worship B14 B17 C76

did second, other; again 2 50 52 54 66 92 111 117 153 170 208 223 228 242 299 A5 C23 C24 C52 C71 C72 C73 C74 E9 E31d E31g E35b E38d E45b E45j

dīd sight 81

dīdag see *hu-dīdag*

dīdan, wēn- to see 87 106 153 223 224 235 242 258 284 290 304 313 C23 C24 C36 D5 D7e D11 E16 E22b E31g E35c E38a E39 E45b. *wēnīh-* 260 261 304

dīdan seemliness D1a

didīgar second, secondly 83 89 127 200 212 284 A5 B15

dīg yesterday 200*

dil heart. *~-dardīh* sympathy B14 B26 C65. Cf. B14. *10.* *~-sōzag* of a warm heart, compassionate B14 B31. See also: *wad-dilīh*

dirang long, late D6a

diz fortress, castle 234 304 E34a

do two *harw ~* "both" 165. *~gān* "pairs" C81. *~gānag* twofold D4. *~īh* duplicity C13. See also *mard-dogānih*

dōrgar carpenter E22f. *~īh* E22f

dōst friend 3 20 24 115 124 165 252 322 C13 C38 C61 E31g E38a E42 E43c. *~īh* 20 127 239 242 252 B14 B25 B34 C51. See also *mardom-dōst(īh), mēnōg-dōst, ruwān-dōstīh, weh(īh)-dōstīh*

dōšag See *xwad-dōšag(īh)*

dōšārm love **91 116 122 C39 E6 E25 E30a E31g E35a**

drahm a unit of currency **201 203 219 282 D3**

drang span **A6**

dranz speech **E45c**

dranzišn saying **63**. See also *ham-dranzišn*

draxt tree *~ān* **D11**

drāyīdan, drāy- to shriek **89**

driyōš poor, indigent **23 142 144 281 292 310 A3**. *~tar* **218 282 304**. *~tom* **218 304**. *~ān* **142 146 147**. Cf. **23**. *10*. *~īh* **141 143 144 146** 156 **218 283 304 E30a E45c**

drōg lie, deceit **78 B8 C29 C30**

drōn the *drōn* ritual (prayer over a meal) **233 D2**

drōzanīh deceit **59 99 246 B7 C70**. *~ā* **315**

drubušt strong, fortified **234**. *~īh* **304**

drust healthy, sound **100 162 200**. *~īh* **113 E32**. See also *tan-drustīh*

druwand follower of the Lie; wicked **92 169 274 281 289 321 322 B8 C54 C80** E12. *~ān* **206**. *~īh* **70 283 A6 C19 C42 D1a E11**

druxtan, drōz- to lie, speak falsely **267**

druz demon 1a **1b 1c 23 59 77 91 101 129 130 132 236 242 250 264 267 268 285 292 315 320 323 A4 C49 C50 C75 C76 [C76] D2 D7a D9** E2 **E28 E45e E45f E45k**. *~ān* **1c 89 206**. *~dādestān* **14 181*** 182. See also *mihr(ō)-druz(īh)*

dūdag family, lineage **130 235**

dūr far **171 313 D7a E43c**. *~tar* **171 E31b**. *~ēmēd* with hopes going far ahead **200**

dusīn earthenware (adj.) **224**

dusrawēnīdan, dusrawēn- to condemn, consider evil **303 [C22]**

dusrawīh ill-fame **140 E30a E35a**

duš-āgāh ignorant, foolish **322 C33 C37**. *~īh* **E40**

dušaxw hell **16 50 87 127 147 287 298 305 [305] C83e D1b D5 E20**. Cf. **206**. *6*.

duš-burdīh misery **C56**. Cf. **C56**. *1*.

duš-cašmīh envy; jealousy **C6 C14**

duš-cihr bad-natured; ugly **B52**. *~tom* **D4**

duš-farrag unlucky, of ill-fortune **145 148 173 207**

duš-framān disobedient **C72**. *~īh* **C72**

dušxār hard, demanding **E45b***

dušman enemy **153 234 243 304 322 C18 C33 C35 C46 C62 D1b E31g E42 E43a**. *~ān* **304 A1 B44**. *~īh* **C52 C62 C83c**. See also *mardom-dušmanīh, ruwān-dušman, weh-dušman(īh)*

dušmanādīh enmity **C52**. Cf. **C52**. *2*.

duš-rām dejected **89**. *~gōwišnīh* **93**

duš-srawīh ill-fame **70**. See also *dusrawīh*

duš-šarmīh disgrace **198**

duš-tōhmagīg of evil seed **68**

dušwār difficult **14 78 171 193 E31b E31g**. *~tar* **104 236**

duš-wārānīh (having) bad rains **C82**

duš-warzīh bad husbandry **C82**

duzd thief **96**

duzīdan, duz- to rob, steal **219**

duzīh thievery **269**

dwāristan, dwār- to rush (said of demons) **236 315**

E

-ē *yā-ye vaḥdat*: *passim*

ēbār once **D10**. Cf. **D10**. *2*.

ēbgad adversary **135**

ēd this *passim*

ēdar here **16 97 133 165 A6 D9 E3**

ēdōn thus *passim*

ēg then; particle which introduces apodosis **1c 59 60 61 68 71 72 90 95 and** *passim*. Introducing a main clause after a relative clause **63 78 80 81** 84 **87 89 90** and *passim*. Introducing a main clause after a temporal clause **78 87 89 98 100 101 105 106 111** and *passim*. Cf. 276. *1*.

ēmēd hope **23 89** 144 **153 155 C83e E31g E35a E40.** *~ag* **59 116 312.** See also *an-ēmēd, dūr-ēmēd*

ēmēdēnīdan, ēmēdēn- to entertain hope **E43d**

ēmēdwār hopeful; promising **E1**

ēn this *passim*

ēnyā otherwise; besides **59 100*** 185 **308 D7d.** *be...~* **62 71 224 231* B14 E31b E39 E45e.** Cf. **100.** *2.*; **291.** *2.*; **308.** *2.*; **D7d.** *1.*

ērān Iran, the Iranians **206 E38e**

ērangīh guilt; damnation **231 E30a.** Cf. **19.** *1.* *~ā* **19 228 231 232 241 298**

ēraxt condemned; guilty **86 204 220 313.** Cf. **204.** *2.* *~ag* **E34c.** See also *an-ēraxt*

ēraxtan, (ērang-) eraxt- to be condemned, convicted; to be guilty **203 C36.** Cf. **1c.** *2.*

ērbad priest **325 D2 D3 D5.** *~ān* **82a 166 E38e.** *~īh* **D10**

ērbadestān house of learning **84 98 316 C27 C81 E45b.** Cf. **D2.** *3.* See also *kard-ērbadestān*

ērīh the Iranian dignity, nobility **163 [B14] B42.** See also *an-ērīh*

ērmānīh humility **E43c**

ēr-menišnīh humility **[C71] C71 C81 D4 E35b E43e E45h E45m.** See also *an-ēr-menišnīh*

ēr-tanīh humility **114**

ēstādan[1], *ēst-* to stand *passim*. *abar ~* to affirm; to set to work, be engaged; stand firm; possess **23 59 83 233 236 297 298 303 314.** *abāz ~* **91.** *andar ~* 57 **234 304.** *(az...) be ~* **78 167 236 315** (without *be*) **C34.** *frō ~* **315.** *ul ~* "to stand up; stand before; stand firm" **141* 141 156 209 210 225 290 E9 E30a**

ēstādan[2], *ēst-* auxiliary vb. *passim*

ēw[1] one **131 200 201 203 219.** *~tāg* **175 C14 E22d**

ēw[2] optative particle **26 125 250**

ēwag one **14 45 47 48 51 61 68 76 83 92 122 146 147 151 153 172 178 182 204 205 206 212 217 228 242 274 298 300 302 303 [303] 304 308 318 A4 A5 B15 C52 C83e D2 D4 D7b E13 E14 E17 E31g E38d E39 E45e E45l**

ēwagānag submissive, accepting authority (?) **76 119 E43c.** *~īh* **267 E38b.** *~īhā* **E1.** *~menišnīh* **E43b.** Cf. **E43b.** *1.*

ēwagānīh obedience **127**

ēwar certain **136**

ēwarz conveyance **A6c.** Cf. **A6c.** *2.*

ēwāz only **71 91 141 152 153 210 213 236* 273 302 321 E8**

ēwāz voice **23.** See *carb-ēwāzīh*

ēwēn custom, manner **319 B15 E45l*(?).** *~ag* custom **80 81.** form, kind, manner **44 45 68 83 89 101 140 178 200 204 205 206 212 244 262 269 274 C83d D4 D5 E30b E35a E43c.** mirror **223 224 261.** See also *was-ēwēnag*

ēzm fire-wood **D5**

F

farnbag See *ādur-farnbag*

farrag fortunate, happy (?) **141 E30a*.** See also *duš-farrag*

farrox happy; fortunate **17 148 173 185 207 D7d.** *~tar* **180 305**

farrox-gāh having a happy place **D1c**

farroxīh happiness **101**

fradāg tomorrow **89 151 D7e**

fradom first **126 153 208 250 291 303 A5 D5 E12**

frahang education; discipline **68 104 105 [B14] B43 C27 C34 C48 C49 C50**. Cf. 68. *2*. *~īgīh* **E43e**

frahaxtan, frahenz- to teach, train; to study **C29 C38**. Cf. **29**. *1*. *frahenzēn-* **C29**

frahist most; moreover **304**

framān command **232 233 234 291 310 E38e E45c**. *~burdār* **30 115 E38a**. *~burdārīh* **E38e E45f**. *~kerdārīh* **E38e**. See also *a-burd-framān(īh), duš-framān(īh)*

framūdan, framāy- to command **1c**

frārōn righteous **53 68 92 101 105 112 115 121 136 170 179 193 206 239 244** 253 **260 290 292 C49 C67 E7 E30b E38a E43e E45m**. *~tar* **83**. *~īh* **43 82a 136 140 148 186 274 303 E22f E32**. *~kāmag* **136**. *~kunišn* **236**

frasāwand transient **180 D7b**. *~īh* **198 D4 E16 E31f**. See also *a-frasāwand*

fraškerd the Renovation **92 312 B5 B6 C75 E22a E45k**. *~kerdārīh* **258**

frawahr (a spiritual part of the person) **295**

fraward See *hu-fraward*

frawardīn (name of a month) **304**

frāxw wide, ample, large *~tar* **304**. *~īh* **252 C59**. *~menišnīhā* **319**

frāyist most, first (?) **21 59 E27 E28**

frāz forth **153 198 304 315 E21**. *~āfrīgānīh* Cf. **Op. Sec. a**. *2*. *az hān ~* **1c 28 53 89 E1**. *~īh* furtherance **E35c**. See also *āhixtan, awar-, dāštan, griftan, hištan, kardan, madan, nihādan, raftan, rasīdan, spuxtan, sūdan, šudan*

frazām end, completion **199 E38d**. *~īh* **127**

frazānag wise **171**. *~īh* **91 311 312**

frazand child, offspring **92 166 222 D1a D1b**. *~ān* **A5**

frēbišn deceit **203**

frēdōn Θraētaona (name of a mythological figure) **B4**

frēftag deceived **274 C83d**

frēftan, frēb- to cheat, deceive **1c 4 243 D1c E12 E38d**

frēftār deceiver, deceitful **274 C13 C83d D7e**

frēh more, in excess of **D3 E16 E31f**

frēhbūd excess **38 42 172 245 B14 B22 D1c**. *~īhā* **200**. See also *gētīg-frēhbūd-ārāy*

frēstādan/frēstīdan, frēst- to send **D3**

frēzbān religious duty **305**

friyād rescue **B53**. Cf. **B53**. *2*. See also *a-friyād*

frōdīh downwardness **E45c**

frōdmānd neglect, remissness, fault **E43c**. Cf. **E43c**. *1*.

fšōnišn thrift **B14 B23 C59**. Cf. **B14**. *9*.

G

gabr cavity, depressed land **208 209 E35b**. Cf. **208**. *2*.

gāh[1] throne; place **1a 1b 16 23 254 262 287 293 304 C63 D1b E25 E31a E43e E45c**. time **78 79 136 199 236 E30a**. *~ud zamān* Cf. **16**. *1*. See also *abē-gāh, pad-gāh, pēš-gāh*

gāh[2] Gāthā **D1c**. *~ānīg* **206**. *~ānīgān* **70**. See also *farrox-gāh*

gāhānbār one of the seasonal festivals **296 C82**. Cf. **C82**. *1*.

gām step **61**

gannāg-mēnōg the Evil Spirit **E38d**

ganz store, treasury **A5**

ganzwar treasurer **214**. *~īh* **64**

garān weighty; serious **E20 E31b E43b E43c**. *~tar* **222 307**. *~menišnīh* **51**. *~wināh* **D7e**

garm hot, warm **E22f**

garōdmān paradise; the highest heaven **172 298 D1b E31a**. *~īg* **153**

garzīdan, garz- to confess **123 299**

gastag unpleasant thing, offence (?) **112**. Cf. **112**. *1.*

gāw cow **90 175**

gāwarizag (?) **231**

gayāg grass **304**

gāyīdan, gāy- to unite (sexually) **86 153**

gayōmard the mythical first man **296**

gāzar a fuller **E22f**. *~īh* **305 E22f**. Cf. **305**. *2.*

gazdom scorpion **B47**

gazīdan, gaz- to bite, sting **B47**

gēhān world **13 17 21 71 72 80 89 90 92 95 96 106 130 131 140 141 148 156 169 209 221 228 241 264 265 [265] 275 287 292 305 308 311 313 314 318 B15–B47 C26 C28 C32 C49 C50 C51 C60 C66 C75 C76 [C76] C83a D4 E22d E30a E35c E45e**

gētīg material world; material (adj.) **14 78 88 89 102 107 142 143 144 145 180 182 185 199 230 288 307 A2 A6 D2 D7d E13 E16 E22a E22b E33 E35a E45c E45d E45e**. *~ān* material beings **D5 E4 E5 E30a**. Cf. **D5**. *3. mardom ī ~* See under *mardom. pad ~* **23 79 81** 82b **97 100 169 218 219 224 236 304 305 306 325 A6 D5 D7d E14 E45e**. *xīr ī ~* See under *xīr. ~īg* **70 C83b**. *~īhā* **253**. *~-kārīh* **E39**. *~-a-paymān-ārāy* **149** *~-frēhbūd-ārāy* **E16**

gilag complaint **23 286 C83c**. *~-menišnīh* **146**. *~-ōbār* one who suppresses complaint **29 E30a***. Cf. **29**. *1.*; **E30a**. *2.*

gird dust **E22f**

gōdar calf **E1**

gōhr substance **67 68 103 104 105 255 261 313 A6 D1a**. See also *ham-gōhr, jud-gōhr*

gōhrīg substitute, exhcange **183 189**. *~īh* **E30b**

gōmēz Cf. **317**. *2.*

gōnag sort, kind **241**. See also *ham-gōnag*

gōspand cattle *~ān* **90 276**

gōš ear **82a**

gōšosrūd-xrad acquired wisdom **262 B11 B12 E45d**

gōšt flesh **324**

gōwāgīh eloquence **91 B14 B37**

gōwišn saying, speech **Op. Sec. 1a 1b 43 101 119 133 227 267 320 B15 D3 E15 E38b E45k**. *~īh* **C63 C64 E18**. See also *a-kerdār-gōwišnīh, dānāg-gōwišn, dušram-gōwišnīh, halag-gōwišnīh, pas-gōwišnīh, rāst-gōwišnīh*

gōwizār open, openly **125**

gōz nut **189 E30b**

grāmīg precious, dear *~-tar* **33**

grāyīdan, grāy- to incline **127**

griftan, gīr- **11 17 22 115 279 C27 C83d E6 E22a E22b E38a**. Cf. **22**. *1. gīrih-* **71 315**. *be ~* **84**. *frāz ~* **56 84 E16**

grīw neck; self **80 81 305**

guftan, gōw- to say, speak **13 20 23 42 53 55 56 59 60 78 82a 82b 91 101 109 115 125 131 133 140 141 154 162 168 169 183 208 213 214 215 227 231 233 237 254 269 286 290 302 304 305 312 319** and *passim*. See also *jādag-gōw(īh)*

guftār See *rāst-guftār*

gugāhīh witnessing **135**

gugārdan, gugār- to digest *gugārih-* **294**

gugārišn digestion **E19**

gujastag accursed **A5**

gumān doubt, suspicion **241 C4 C6 C23 C24 C31 C34 C35**. *~īgīh* **D1b E43c**. *~īh* **303 C10**. See also *abē-gumānīh, a-gumānīh*

gumārdan, gumār- to choose, appoint **225**

gumēxtan, gumēz- to mix **180 200**

gumēzag mixture. See *pad-gumēzag*

gund troop, soldier **C61**. Cf. **C61**. *1.*

gung dumb, mute; deaf **48 134 E34c**. *~īh* **E34c**. Cf. **C13**. *1.*

gursag hungry **E4**. *~īh* **51 106 308**

gušn male **90 262**

gušnasp See *ādur-gušnasp*

gyāg place **1c 93 130 131 153 [208] 209 213 230 265 304 305 323 D2 D5 E31g** E35b **E38e E39**

H

haδa-mānθrīg person belonging to the group of *Hadha-mānthra* **206**. *~ān* **70**

haftom seventh, seventhly **127**

hagrez never **20 28** 43 **63 74 95 169 189 213 236 252 A5 D7b D7c D10 E8 E30b**

halag foolish **B49**. *~īh* **C64**. *~-gōwišnīh* **247**

ham same **143 310 [310] 315 D3 D6a D9**. *~īh* union, association **6 43 53 206** 320. *~-arg* companion in labour **E45e**. *~-bandišn* composition (?) **E40**. *~-barišn* associate **C22**. *~-barišnīh* **E38e**. *~-būdan* to be associated with **43**. *~-dahišnīhā* in a manner that gives jointly to both (?) **319**. *~-dēn* an associate in religion; one who has the same religion. *~-dēnān* **55**. *~-dranzišn* in accord, of the same speech **303**. *~-gōhr* of like substance **113**. *~-gōnag* (in) the same manner **136 [E22f] E22f**. *~-kāmag* of like desire **132**. *~-kār* associate **B49 D3 D10**. *~-kunišn* partner **C22**. *~-paccēn* a copy **A6**. Cf. **A6d**. *1*. *~-paygārišnīh* joint battle **E38e**. *~-paywandīh* kinship **C11**. *~-pursagīh* consultation **95 114 242 251 253 255 263 294 302 303 A6d E25 E45c E45h**. *~-rasišn* meeting **E27***. *~-rasišnīh* **188 300**. *~-tāg* equal, similar **111 146**. *~-wāzīg* partner, companion **B49**. Cf. **B49**. *1*. *~-xwaran* drinking companion **B51**. *~-xwarišnīh* eating together **188 242**. *~-zamān* **23**

hamāg all; totality **130 131 209 260 261 264 265 [265] B47 E38d E45c E45e E45i**. *~-abzār* **E37**

hamahl equal, peer; opponent **48 49**. *~-xwadāyīh* **B14 B39**

hamē always (adv. & prev.) **10 13 33 34 61 76 165 213 218 224 229 236 271** 274 278 **290 304 306 314 D2 D3 D5 D7d D8 D12 E10**

E35c E38d E45g E45l. *~-yīg* eternal **D7b**. *~-yīgīh* **E16 E31c**

hamēmār opposing, adversary **169 C36**. See also *dānāg-ne-hamēmār*

hamestagān the Middle Region in the other word **D1b**

hamēstārīh countering; opposing **A4**

hamēšag always **141 145 151 E17 E45i E45l**

hammis together with *az. . .~* **209**

hāmōyēn all **10 76 95 128 152 169 176 182 186 208 307**

hān that (dem. pron.) *passim*. Cf. **21**. *2*.

hanbār storehouse; provisions **304 319 A6**. *~īh* **E45c**

handāxtan, handāz- to consider **136 D7d**. to happen, come about **D2 D3**. Cf. **D2**. *4*.

handāzag measure **82b**

handāzišn occurrence, happening **D3**

handōzišn See *attān-handōzišnīh*

hangām time, period **16 B11 C63 D8 E34c**. *~īg-saxwanīh* **C63**. See also *kardag-hangāmīg*

hangārd consideration (?) **D5**

hangārdan, hangār- to consider, reckon **140 306 E31f**. Cf. **306**. *1*. See also *wad-hangār*

hangerd summary *pad-~* **226 303**. Cf. **226**. *1*. *~īg* succinct, summarized **267 E45g**. *~īg-tom* **85**

hangēzēnīdan, hangēzēn- to incite **C18**

hanzaftan, hanzām- to come to an end **D2**

haoma See *hōm*

harw each, every *passim*

haštom eighth, eighthly **127**

hāwišt disciple. *~ān* **C83d D12**. *~īh* **110 181**

hayyār helper **C11 C20 C22 C61 C83b**. *~īh* **225 267 276 305**. *~ōmandīh* **92**. See also *dānāg-hayyār, jahišn-hayyārīh, yazdān-hayyār*

hazār a thousand **61**

hēc none, nothing, no one **267 A5 E30b**

hištan, hil- to let; to abandon **7 23 25 26 64 98 101 154 189* 193 198 219 222** [232] **252 257 301 320 A2 A6 B53 E22a E23 E30b E31f E34a** E45c. *frāz* ~ **E16**

hōg habit, custom **115 121 179 239 253 C48 C49 C50 D1a E38a**

hōm a ritual plant **108 295**

hu-āmārīh being of good disposition (?) **C53**. *Cf.* **C53**. *1.*

hu-axwīh Cf. **59**. *1*n.

hu-bahr of good share, of good disposition (?) **211**. *~īh*(?) **27**

hu-bōy fragrant **287**. *~-tar* **287**

hu-cihr fair, attractive. *~-tar* **E33**

hu-dānāgān sages **323**

hu-dārišn* holding well **27

hu-dīdag good-looking **E31g**. Cf. **E31g**. *2.*

hu-fraward venerable **D1a**

hugar easy, smooth, straight; beneficent (?) **48* 78* C57***. Cf. **48**. *2.*

hugār beneficent (?) **177 198 211 E45b**. *~-tom* **211**. *~īh* **156**. Cf. **156**. *1.*

humānāg similar, like **262 E34c**. *~-tar* **247**

humat good thought **40**

hu-mihrīh keeping one's word **115 E38a**

hunar virtue; skill **115 121 253 269 C4 C5 C38 C61 C62 E9 E38a E43b**. *~āwandīh* **23**. *~ōmandīh* **C55**. See also *a-hunarīh, wad-hunarīh*

huniyāg music; pleasure, merry-making (?) **D3***. *~īh* **319**. Cf. **D3**. *6.*

hu-niyōšīdār a good listener **E37**

hunsand contented **143 144 177 189 196 306 319 C17 D4 E30b**. *~īh* **27 127 196** B14 **B30 C57 D4 E28 E30b E32 E38c E45c E45m**. *~-xīr* contented. *~-xīrān* **197**. Cf. **197**. *1.* See also *a-hunsandīh ana-hunsand*

hu-pattōg steadfast **73**. Cf. **73**. *1.*

hu-paywand well related **78**

hurām merry **153**

hu-sāzag cooperative (?). Cf. **82b**. *1.* *~īh* **E43e**

hu-spāsīh gratitude **114**

husraw (of) good fame **138**. *~īh* **113 139 140 E25 E32 E35a**

husrawēnīdan, husrawēn- to praise **303**

huš awareness, consciousness **56 64 240 D1a E45g E45l**

hu-šarmīh bashfulness **B14 B27**

hu-škōhīh dignity **B14 B27**. Cf. **B14**. *12.*

hu-šnāsīh being well-acquainted, informed **308**

hu-šnūdīh satisfaction **C24**

hušyār conscious, wary, heedful **1c 59 87 190**

hu-tōhmagīg of good seed **68**

hutuxšīh labour (?); being an artisan **E45c E45l**

huwaršt good deed **40**

hu-xēm (of) good nature **115 E38a**. *~-tar* **299**

hūxt good speech **40**

huzārag few, scarce **257**

hu-zīwišnīh well-being **304**

I

ī *iẓāfat: passim*

īm-rōz today **89 151 227 227* E3 E31e**

īzagīh See *dēw-īzagīh*

J

jādag-gōw advocate, intercessor **78 91 132 142**. *~īh* **23 35 91 C81**. Cf. **23**. *2.*

jādag-hayyār Cf. 82a. *1.*

jādūgīh sorcery 93 **255 256**

jahišn fate, fortune. *~īg* accidental **13**. Cf. **13.** *3.* *~-hayyārīh* acts of charity C82. Cf. **C82.** *2.* *~-pānag* Cf. **82a.** *1.*

jāmag vessel, cup; cloak **90 224 E22f**

jān the vital soul **E40**

jang strife, battle, war **C3 C71**

jār time, occurrence **227**

jastag accident C77 **C78.** *pad ~* Cf. **13.** *3.*; **112.** *1.*; **C77.** *1.*

jastan, jah- to spring, come about, present itself **52 89 101 238 304.** Cf. **C82.** *2.*

jāyēdān eternal; eternally **313**

jāyēz-(?) to live eternally **271.** Cf. **271.** *1.*

jeh whore, prostitue **93.** *~ān* **257.** *~īh* **255 256.** *~-marzīh* intercourse with a whore **B14 B34 C39**

jōrdāy corn **304.** *~ān* **C82**

jud separate 43 **80 81 108 127 216* 251 291 303 305 D3 D7c E38e E45f E45**k. *~āg* **113 D5.** *~āgīh* **267 E45d.** *~-gōhr* **111 113.** *~-wastarīh* **93.** *~-tar = juttar* q.v.

jūdan, jōy- to chew (to forget) **56 294.** Cf. **56.** *2.*; **294.** *1.*

juttar different; differently; something perverse, evil **23 25 82b 100 101 136 141** 162 **256 269 306 C26 E38f E43c.** Cf. **100.** *1.*

juwān young **257** E31g. *~īh* **17 266**

K

ka when *passim*

kadag house, abode **129 C1 C83a E38f.** *~-bānūg* housewife **127**

kadām which 82a **100 235 D2.** *~-jān-ez* whoever **16 23* 67 225.**

kafš shoe **B47**

kāhišn decrease **E45i**

kahwan old **234**

kālbud form **67**

kam less; little **35 71 111 152 160 168 169 211 219 272 289 290 306 307 B53 C2 C9 C11 C12 C13 C15 C20 C21 C23 C25 C29 C31 C32 C36 C37 C38 C43 C60 C66 C72 D6b E30a E38d E38f E45e.** *~ist* least **E2 E31e.** *pad ~* at least **241 302.** *~-barīh* diminution of productivity **C82.** *~-tawān-xīr* of little wealth. *~-tawān-xīrān* **146**

kām will, desire **234 304 305 A2.** *~ag* **1b 17 32 89 101 107 136 140 153 166 189 198 211 213 218 221 222 249 285 304 310 D12 E30b E31g.** Cf. **1b.** *4.* *~-agīhā* **305 D4 E30a.** *~ag-rawāgīh* **100.** *~īhā* **80*.** See also *abārōn-kāmag, a-kāmōmandīhā, anāg(īh)-kāmag, ardīg-kāmag, frārōn-kāmag, ham-kāmag, nām-kāmag, nēwagīh-kāmag, pad-kāmag*

kāmīdan, kām- to desire **13 44 82a 82b 125 129 154 250 269 304 307 310 315.** *kāmistan* **280 B4 D3**

kandāg (a fortress) having a moat **304.** *(*kandag)* Cf. **304.** *1.*

kandiz a fortress with a moat **304**

kār[1] business, work, affair **23 24 30 46 64 68 103 132 138 142 170 204 227 267 299 304 305 310 314 315 C26 C37 C57 C69 D1a D2 D3 D4 D5 D11 D12 E22f E45a E45b E45c.** *~ud bār* Cf. **D3.** *4.* See also *abē-kār, a-kārag, a-xwēš-kārīh, gētīg-kārīh, ham-kār, xwēš-kārag, xwēš-kārīh(ā)*

kār[2] *person; *army. *~ān* (other) people **129 132 201 212 224 270 C39 E38e**

karabīh **144 157**

karag Cf. **C83b.** *1.*

kard done, having accomplished. *~-ērbadestān* learned; one who frequents the *ērbadistān* **310 D2.** *~ag-hangāmīg* punctual performer (?) **B15.** Cf. **B15.** *1.*

kardan, kun- to do *passim.* *kunih-* **80 100 105 119 160 206 304 305 313 C80 D7d E30b.** *frāz ~* **E31f E34a**

kārēgar active **200**

kārezār battle **E38e**

kārōgīhā menial (?), menially (?) **305**. Cf. **305**. *3*.

karr deaf **E34c**. *~īh* **E34c**

kas person *passim*. *~ān* **78 127 142 144 C30 C73 D3 D12 E31b**. *~īhā* **175**

kāstan, kāh- to diminish, reduce **71 111 213 244 B15–B46 C4 C39 C52 C64 C82 E38**d. *kastan, kah-* to diminish **A5 D7b**

kašīdan, kaš- to pull, carry **D5**. See *āmār-kašīh*

kay when **E3**

kāž would that 17 **140 218 269 304**

ke who *passim*

kēgīh the position of a *kavi* **157**

keh smaller **90**. *az-eš* *~ān* **48**. *~īh* **E45c**

kēn vengeance. *~īg* **E31g**. *~war* **E20**. *~warīh* **B14 B44 C23**

kerdag book, tractate **Op. Sec.** Cf. **Op. Sec. b**. *1*.

kerdār See *a-kerdār-gōwišnīh, a-kerdārīh, framān-kerdārīh, weh-kerdārīh*

kerdgār performer of pious deeds **D5**

kirbag good deed **4 6 7 29 38 40 53 54 55 62 65 78 80 81 95 105 113 119 127 141 146 158 159 160 161 168 176 190 209 219 232 233 236 254 267 301 303 317 A6 B11 C53 C65 C82 D8 D12 E5 E22f E30a E32**. *~tom* **211**. *~gar* See *kirbakkarīh*. *~pādāšn* **13 14 78 110 181** 182

kirbakkarīh doing good deeds **E45c**

kirrōg skill **67**. *~īh* **10**. *~īhā* **89**. See also *dast-kirrōgīh*

kišw See *warz ud kišw*

kišwar world **C83a**

kōdag small **78 104 158 159 160 161 251 264 307**. Cf. **158**. *1*. *~-nigerišnīh* meanness, pettiness **C24**

kōf mountain **60 186 219 D5 D11**

kōr blind **E34c**. *~īh* **E34c**

kōstag the sacred girdle. *~-barišnīh* **108**

kōšīdan, kōš- to fight, struggle, strive **23 77 132 145 268**. *kōxšīdan, kōxš-* **B50**

kōšišn strife, fight **1c**

kōxšīdan, kōxš- See *kōšīdan*

ku that (introducing direct or indirect speech) *passim*

ku where *passim*

kūg short, small **206**. Cf. **206**. *7*.

kunišn doing, deed, action **1a 1b 10 43 72 101 112 119 133 140 212 225 226 227 239 267 320 A2 B15 C22 C30 C49 C50 D1a E7 E15 E32 E38b E45d E45k**. *~īh* **C67 C68**. See also *a-dādestān-kunišnīh, frārōn-kunišn, ham-kunišn, wastār-kunišnīh*

kūrwārgar tanner **E22f***. *~īh* **E22t**

kušk Cf. **304**. *1*.

M

ma not (negative particle) **31 233 B47 D12 E16 E42 E45m**

mād mother **77**

mādag (1) female **90 262**. *~īh* **262**. (2) substance. *~-tar* **D30a**. *~war* important, substantial **181**. *~war-tar* **43**. *~warīh* **D7c***. *~warīhā* **D7c**. Cf. **D7c**. *1*. See also *xwār-mādag, wēš-mādag*

madan to come **2 16 21 28 82a 113 126 144 153 170 188 262 268 282 298 304 305 307 319 A5 A6 C9 C10 C20 C21 C46 D2 D4 D7b E3 E8 E31g E38d E43c**. *frāz* ~ **D5 D8 D11 E45b**. See also *āmadan*

mādiyān main, principal, essential; in substance **19 38 71 167 181 196 226 267 320**. *~ciš, ciš ī* ~ **8 67 71 103**. Cf. **8**. *1*.

magar perhaps **D10**

magend shield **26**. Cf. **26**. *1*.

māh moon; month **304 D5**

mahist greatest **40 44 88 232 322**

mahraspand pr. n. See *ādurbād ī mahraspandān*

man pron. 1st sg. (oblique case) **31**

-mān encl. pron. 1st pl. *passim*

mān dwelling, abode *~ ī ātaxšān* **301**

mānāg similar, like **314 E34a**. See also *humānāg*

mānd neglected 33. *~ag* sin, transgression **37 123 299 E31d**. *~ag garzīdan* Cf. **123**. *1*.

mānīg of the household. *~ān* **304**

māndan, mān- to remain **37 202 236 272 304 307 D3**. *mānistan, mān-* to dwell **D11**. See also *nazdīk-mānīh*

mānišn dwelling, residing **264**

mānθr the sacred word **163 215 259 324 E45d**. *~-barīh* carrying the sacred word **216**. *~-ošmarišnīh* consideration of the sacred word **C75**. *~-spand* the sacred word **E38e**. See also *haδa-mānθrīg*

mar account **115**

mār snake **B47**

mard man **14** 52 **59 69 72** 82a **95 101 106 111 112 128 138 149 153 157 161** 168 **169** 173 180-182 198-201 **203 207 209 213 214 222 224 225** 233 **236 239 242 247 257 272 289 290 301 305 310 314 315 319** 325 **A5 B47 B49-B52 C4 C8 C18 C55 C57 C62-C72 D1c D2 D3 D5 D7a D11 E1 E4 E15 E16 E20 E23 E25 E31g E38f E43e E45e**. *~-dogānīh* hypocrisy, duplicity (?) **80**. See also *āzād-mard(īh), meh-mardīh, moγ-mard(īh), weh-mard*

mardābagīh manly virtue **91 311 312**. Cf. **91**. *1*.

mardom man; people **1a 1c 16 17 52 53 71 77** 82a **82b 89 90 104 134 140 142 144 169 178 179 187 204-206 211 214 218 219 221 222 225-227 231*** 243 **244 274 282 283 288 291 292 298 303-305 323 C24 C31 C33** C34 **C52 C54 C60 C61 C76 C83c E10 E12 E22f E31g E35c E38d E45e**. *~ān* **13 21 26 31 32 44 59 65 68 74** 82a **87 89 97 102-105 108 110 113-115 117 127 132 140 141 144 156 161 187** 190 **200 213 217 219 224 228 236 239 242 244 249 253 264 265** 276 **285 304 305 316 317 322 A6 B14 B31 B46 C2 C4**

C11 C12 C23 C30 C37 C41 C43 C45 C46 C51 C69 C70 C82 C83e D7a E10 E31b E31g E33 E35b E38a E43e E45h. *~ ī gētīg* **23**. *~īh* **E34b**. *~-dōst* a lover of people **E45e**. *~-dōstīh* **114 E11 E45e E45h E45m**. *~-dušman* enemy of people. *~-dušmanān* **B14**. *~-dušmanīh* **C35 E11**

marg death. *~īh* **234 257 A6 C58 C76**. *~-arzān* worthy of death **B6**. *~-arzānīh* **203** 282. See also *a-marg(īh)*

marīh knavery **255 256**

marzīdan, marz- to unite sexually with a woman **72 220**. See also *daštān-marzīh, jeh-marzīh*

mast intoxicated **C7**

may wine **94 108 C3 E11**

māzandagān the demons **141**

mazdēsn Mazdean. *dēn ī ~* **Op. Sec.**

med-kārīh avoidance, refraining **46**. Cf. **46**. *2*.

meh greater; great **45 90 C37 E38e**. *~ān* **118 146 147**. *az-eš ~ān* **48**. *~īh* **90 45c**. *~-dādestānīhā* **127**. *~-mardīh* **B14 B45**. Cf. **B14**. *23*. *~-sūd-dahišnīh* **127**

mehgārīh harmfulness **46**. Cf. **46**. *1*.

mehmān one who dwells, resides; host; guest **71 78 91 95 130 190 193 265 C77 C78**. *~-tar* **301 302 323 E2**. *~īh* **264**. See also *dēn-mehmānīh*

menīdan, men- to think, believe **42 96 101 111 113 198 227 236 302 306 316 C5 C23 C36 C57 C60 C61 C62 C66 C71 C72 D12** [E4] **E38d E38e E45g**. *bawandag ~* to be reverent **113**. *tar ~* to despise **71 281 310**. *ul ~* **290**. See also *bawandag menīdan*

menīdārīh thinking **E17**

menišn thought; mind **1a 1b 20 43 119 133 227 236 267 300 320 322 C30 D4 E4 E9 E22f E31d E38b E43c E43e E45k**. *~īg* **143**. *~īh* **250**. *~īhā* **151**. See also *abar-menišnīh, anāg-menišnīh, an-ast-menišnīh, an-ēr-menišnīh, āsān-menišnīh, āwām-menišnīh, bawandag-menišn(īh), ēr-menišnīh, ēwagānag-menišnīh, frāxw-menišnīhā,*

gilag-menišnīh, sabuk-menišnīh, tar-menišn(īh), wahman-menišn, wuzurg-menišnīh

mēnōg spirit **82a 101** 102 **170 185 198 225 230 A2 A6 D12 E16 E22b E35a E39 E45c E45d.** *~ān* spiritual beings **13 14 29 78 81 106 110 113 116** 140 **181 182 211 218 219 230 280 304 306 D5 E4 E5 E30a.** Cf. D5. *3. ciš ī ~* **6 16 151 241.** *druz ī ~* **23 315 323.** *pad ~* 79 81 **180 225 307 D5 D7d E14.** *xīr ī ~* See under *xīr.* *~īg* **C83b E25.** *~īh* **70.** *~īhā* **79 253 307 D5.** *~-dōst* friend of the spirits **E5.** *~-warrawišnīh* faith in the spiritual world **275 B14 B20** C53 **E4 E45m.** *~-wišōb* destroyer of the spiritual world **149.** *~-wišuft* **E16.** See also *a-mēnōg-warrawišnīh, gannāg-mēnōg*

mērag fellow **D11.** Cf. D11. *2.*

mēš sheep **90**

mezag taste **B53 C15** C21. *~ōmand* **222**

mihr love, friendship **240 242 254 275 B14 B31 C51 C83e D1a.** *~-druz* the breaker of oaths **235.** *~-druzīh* **235 C47 C52.** See also *hu-mihrīh, ādur-mihr*

miyān middle **225*.** *pad- ~* ready, at one's disposal **33 53 141 162 291**

mizd reward **65 249** E5 **E33**

mōbad priest **D3 D5** D10. *~ān* **D3 D5 D10.** *~īh* **D10**

moγ-mard priest **289.** *~ān* **257**

mōšīdan, mōš- to turn away **E45m**

mōyag lamentation **B14 B31**

murd dead **52**

murdan, mīr- to die 23 52 **200 222 234 236 D3 D12**

must complaint; oppression **23 146 243**

myazd fruit offering; ritual meal **254 296 C82 E45m**

N

nafrīn curse **123**

nakkīrā denying **59.** Cf. 59. *1.*

nām name; fame **Op. Sec. 54 190 216 242 C81 D2 D10 D11 E22a E22c E32.** *~-kāmag* seeker of fame **71.** *~kāmagīh* **71.** See also *abē-nām*

nāmag book **66 A6**

nāmcišt especially, in particular **23 62 304**

nān bread **132 187 188 203 219* 308 D12 E45l**

nang shame, disgrace **7 23 54 110 E8.** Cf. 7. *1.* *~-parastišnīh* **E20**

nān-xwarīh doing the work of a servant **305**

narfsišn waning **E45i**

nārīg female **93**

narīh masculinity **262**

narm soft **128 E22f**

narsē pr. n. See *ādur-narsē*

nasāh corpse **52 257 E31b**

nasuš the demon of impurity residing in the corpse **317.** Cf. **317.** *1.*

nāw navigable (?) **141.** Cf. **141.** *2.*

naxust first **21**

nay reed **131.** Cf. **131.** *1.*

nazd near. *~īh* **216.** *~īk* **171 C4.** *~īkīh* **D3.** *~īk-mānīh* **E43b**

nazdist first **230 E38d**

nāzēnagīh flattery (?) **B14 B37**

ne no, not *passim*

ne-angad* poor **78

nēmag side, part, portion **C83e**

nērōg power **267 319**

nēst is not **6 50 74 75 77 83 91 104 124 144 145 148 153 155 157 184 187 191 214 216 218 234 239 244 253 255 262 294 304 313 314 C4 C45 C80 C83e D5 D12 E31g E35a.** *~-dārišnīh* **D16**

nēwag good **2 16 91 104 108 113 115 116 127 132 179 188 194 225 238 A5 B53 C49 C73 D6b D7c D11 E32 E38a E38e E45b.** *~-tar*

112 221 C41. *~īh* 2 3 16 102 113 140 142 156 196 244 267 304 B1 B2 B3 C21 C32 C40 C45 C70 D5 D7d D12 E31f E35b E35c E38a E45g. *~īh-kāmag* wisher of good E31g

nibastan, nibay- to recline, be lying down 258

nibištan, nibēs- to write 66

nidagīh(?) lowliness E33

nīdagīh(?) Cf. E33. *1.*

nīdan, nay- to lead 101 E1

nigāh watching, guarding 64 138 C59

nigerīdan, niger- to look, contemplate, heed 13 46 66 111 166 212 223 228 261 302 A6 B11 B12 B13 D6a D7d E16 E34c E39 E45l. *nigerīh-* 260 261. *ul ~* E2

nigerīdār careful, watchful 128

nigerišn contemplation, circumspection 91 B47 C83d E39. *~īh* E45c. Cf. 91. *3.*; C83d. *3.* See also *kōdag-nigerišnīh*

nigōhišn scorn, censure E35a

nihādagīh meekness, humility (?) 120 127 B14 B36 E38c. Cf. 120. *2.*

nihādan, nih- to set down, lay down C71 [D1a]. *frāz ~* 172

nihād-snehīh laying down the arms, disarmament C71

nihān secret, secrecy 119 214. *~īg* E43b. *~īhā* stealthily (?), with circumspection (?) 173. Cf. 173. *1.*; C12. *1.* *~xēmīh* 256 C12

nihang little; brief Op. Sec. 53 206* 209* E35a. Cf. Op. Sec. b. *2.*

nihuftārīh concealing, hiding E43b

nīhumb hiding 160

nimāyišn display E44

nimūdan, nimāy- to show 44 63 87 89 198 214 256 269 315 E34b

nīrang ritual (formulae) 240 E14 E45c. *~īh* E45m

nīrmad benefit E45b

niruzd feeble 152

niš- (pr. st.) to watch 224

nišastan, nišīn- to sit, dwell 79 87 249 D3 E43c E45c

nišēb slope, depression E35b

niwāxtag kind, tender B14 B19. Cf. 120. *2.*; B14. *4.*

niwāzišn tenderness, fondness 189 E30b. Cf. 189. *2.*

niyābag appropriate 319

niyāg ancestors. *~ān* 62

niyāyišn worship, prayer, praise 97 295 301. See also *pēš-niyāyišnīh*

niyāz want, poverty 292 D4. *~ōmand* 71. *~ōmandīh* 71 292 E41

niyōšīdan, niyōš- to listen 78 115 E38a E39

niyōšīdār one who listens. *~īh* E45c. See also *a-niyōšīdārīh, hu-niyōšīdār*

nōg new. *nōg nōg* "ever afresh" C9

nohom ninth, ninthly 127*

nūn now 136 168 198 218 304 315 B4 B5 D2 E21

O

ō to *passim*

-ōbār see: *gilag-ōbār*

ōbārīh abundance (?) 110. Cf. 110. *1.*

ōbastan, ōbay- to fall 258

ōbastīh self-abasement B14 B36. Cf. B14. *19.*

ōgārdan, ōgār- to exclude, deduct 71 81. Cf. 120. *3.* See also *āhōg-ōgārīh*

ōgārišn demolition C3. Cf. 71. *2.*

ōh thus 59 68 71 72 78 113* 142* 154 305 317 and *passim*

ohrmazd name of the deity Op. Sec. 11 12 19 23 31 32 65 82a 98 114 123 124 134 135 168 169 172 196 249 258 276 277 279 291 297 307 308 311 A4 B1-B6 D1c D9 E38e E45g E45h

ohrmazd ī sigzīg pr. n. D12. Cf. D12. *1.*

ōrēb disappointment, distress (?) **C9 C46 (?)**. *~īh* **C20**. Cf. **C9**. *2, 3.*

ōstag firm (?) **182**. Cf. **182**. *1.*

ōstīgān steadfast **166**

ōstwār reliable **214**. *~ān* **55 254**. *~īh* **E43e**

ōš death **236**. See also *a-ōš(īh)*

ōšmarišn category, doctrine. *~ ī dēn* **68**. Cf. **68**. *3.* See also *mānθr-ōšmarišnīh*

ōštāftan, ōštāb- to be put into disorder **E31f**

ox mind **1a 1b 30 108 113 143 162 163 164 252**. Cf. **1a**. *4.* See also *wad-axwān, weh-ox*

ōzadan, ōzan- to kill **206 317 B4 B6 B9**

ōzadār(?) destructive, destroyer **211***

P

paccēn See *ham-paccēn*

pad by, through, in *passim*

pādan, pāy- to protect **70 79 208 E38f**

pādārīh crucifixion **[B14] B43**. Cf. **B14**. *22.*

pādāšn reward, recompense **23 65 107 303 D7d E33**. See also *kirbag-pādāšn*

pad-bīm fearful **C25**

pādefrāh punishment **206 B11 B14 B40 B43 B50 C8 E43a**

pādexšāy ruler, governor **70 87 115 156 250 265 310 C8 E38a**. *~-tar* **214 304**. *~ān* **118 C82 D4**. *~īh* **21 24 113 B14 B39 C7 C24 C55 C57 C69 E31a**. See also *a-pādexšāy(īh), duš-pādexšāyīh*

padēxw prosperous; prosperity **142 143 185**. *~īh* **304 A6 E32 E40**. See also *duš-padēxwīh*

pad-gāh at the (appropriate) place **C63**

pad-gumēzag intermixed **D5**

padīd repentance. *pad-padīd* repentant **50 101 168 227 E31d**. *~īgīh* **50 A4 E28 E31b**

padīrag against **61 225 E31f**

padīreftagīh being accepted **C65**. Cf. **C65**. *2.*

padīreftan, padīr-ul ~**305** to accept; to gain **78 80 81 238 262 A5 C4 C25 C43.**

pad-kāmag willingly, with desire **115**

pad-padīd repentant See *padīd*

pādram populace **303**

pad-rāmišn peaceful, comfortable, reposed **E30b**. *~-tar* **C61**

pad-xrad wise **C63**

pahlom best **23 25 90 110 113 114 117 118 141 263 B7 B10 E43b E45h**. *~-tom* **124 252**

pahrēxtagīh avoidance, observance **E43e**. *~ā* **D3**

pahrēxtan[1]*, pahrēz-* to beware, guard oneself from, abstain **17 52 59 127 128 193 276 284 D7a E31b**

pahrēxtan[2]*, pahrēz-* to serve; guard, keep **45 207 221 222 E1**. See also *a-pahrēxt*

pahrēz[1] guarding, circumpsection **52 250 E32**

pahrēz[2] service **44 45 88**

pāk pure; clean **93 115 122 125 224 319* E22f E28 E31b E38a**. *~-tar* **90**. *~īh* **267 D6b**. *~īzag* pure, clean. *~īzag-tar* **90**. *~īzagīh* **B14 B33 C65**. *~īzagīhā* **125**

pan miserly, stingy **[78] B52 C32**. Cf. **78**. *5.* *~īh* **B14 B23 C83c E11**. *~āmār* miserly in reckoning (?) **D4**

pānag guardian, protector **43 A6**. *~īh* **304**. See also *dar-pānagīh*

panāh protection, shelter **237 252**. *~īh* **C82**

panjom fifth, fifthly **127 A5**

parastīdan, parast- to worship **237**. See also *uzdēs-parastīh*

parastišn service **E43b**. See also *nang-parastišnīh, uzdēs-parastišnīh*

parisp wall **215 216**

parwānag guide, leader **87 290**. Cf. **87**. *1.*

parwand enclosing wall **109**. Cf. **109**. *1.*

parwardan, parwar- to nourish, foster **79**

parwarišn nourishment, fostering **C51**

pas afterwards, then *passim. pas ī* (prep.) after *passim. az pas ī* after *passim. ~īh* coming after **E45c**. *~gōwišnīh* backbiting (?) **C35**

pās watch, guarding **E34a**

pāsdārīh being on one's watch **E34a**

pasēn future; final See *tan*

passand approval **D5** E22e **E35a**

passaxw See *passox*

passox answer **D3 D5 D10 E45a**. See also *a-passoxīh*

pašēmān regretful **71**. *~īh* **219 B48 B52 E41**

pattāyistan, pattāy- to last, endure **C67**

pattōg wealthy **E29**. Cf. **E 29**. *1.*

pāy foot **106** 258

pāyag degree, stage, rank. *~īhā* **D5**

payagīh doing the work of a courier **305**

paydāg manifest, evident, revealed **24 40 48 71 90 103 105 139 140 160 253 303** 304 **313 B1-B53 C83a D4 D5 E38e**. *~īh* **79 104 226 304 E11**. See also *a-paydāg*

paygām message **D3**

paygār battle, strife 214 **231 C3**

paygārdan, paygār-* to contend, battle **303

paygārišn contention, battle. See *ham-paygārišnīh*

paykabānag cantankerous **C5**

paykaftan, paykab- to fall upon **52**. Cf. **52**. *1.*

paykōbānag(?) **C5**. *1.*

paymān the (right) measure **38 39 40 42 43 78 99 172 174 206 C61 C62**

C71 D1c E16 E17 E18 E31f E32. *~īg* **E16**. *~īgīh* **114 C59 E45c E45h**. See also *a-paymān(īh)(ā), a-paymān-dārišnīh, a-paymān-xwarišnīh, gētīg-a-paymān-ārāy*

paymōxtan, paymōg- to clothe oneself in, to wear. See *ahlāyīh-paymōgīh*

pāyrōzag, pāyrōzīg daily **294**. *(~īg)* **226**

paywand bond, connection, relationship, kinship **92 240**. See also *duš-paywand, hu-paywand, ham-paywandīh*

paywastan, paywand- to unite, connect **92 324 E43e**. *paywandih-* **C51**

pazd punishment, chastisement **70 C8 E31b E43a**

pazībāgīh hypocrisy **47**. Cf. **47**. *1.*

pazībāy-* *to malign **71. Cf. **71**. *4.*

pērāyag ornament **C83a**

pērōzīh victory **E45a**

pēš before *passim. ~ēnīg* former, early **1a**. *~ēnīgān* **C83d E16**. *~īh* coming before **E45c**. *~gāh* distinguished **C73**. Cf. **C37**. *1.* *~niyāyišnīh* homage **109**. Cf. **109**. *2.* *~wēnāft* visible in the future **248**

pēšag profession, occupation, calling **[B14] B43 C27 C34 C55 C75**

pēšār committed, performed (of a sin) **13 101 168 227 243 272 C77 E31d**. Cf. **101**. *1.*; 272. *2.*

pēšobāy leader; vanguard **186**. *~īh* **231**

petyārag opponent, adversary **5 78 146 216* 235 245 246 292 A4 B14**. *~tar* **216**. Cf. **5**. *4.*

pihw meal, food **153 E31g**. Cf. **153**. *2.*

pōryōtkēš holder of the faith of the ancients; the ancient sages **E45d**. *~ān* **Op. Sec. 1a 109 A6 B15 C26 C83d E45b E45l**. *~īh* **8 62**. Cf. **Op. Sec. a**. *4.*; **1a**. *2.*

pōst skin 324 **[E22f]**

pōstkarīh the work of a tanner **305**

pōzīh(?) repentance, contrition **81**. Cf. **81**. *1.*

puhl punishment **70 98 219 289 303 E31b**

purr full **A5 B4** B47. *~-bēšīh* amplitude of trouble **256**. *~-bōzišnīhā* in a manner full of salvation **E44**. *~-xrad* **199**

pursīdan, purs- to ask, enquire **76 82a 109 154 231 232 267 299 D5 D10 D11 E45c E45n**. See also *ham-pursagīh*

pursišn request; interrogation **E34c**

pušt back **D5**

R

rad chief. *~ān* **310**

rād generous **51** 71 **78 310 E6** E23 E29. *~-tar* **75 94**. *~īh* **23** 71 **75 91 114** 127 **247 B14 B15 C59 D1a E11 E33 E45b**

raftan, raw- **115 152 173 250 287 318 B47 D1a D2 D3 D6a E26 E38a E38e E43c**. *frāz ~* **60**

rag vein **324**. Cf. 82a. *1.*

ragīh **82a**. Cf. **82a**. *1.*

rāh way, road **1a** 1b **1c 50 87 148 172 210 214 287 307 D3 E20 E45c**. *~ dāštan* Cf. **1a**. *6*. *~ ī šāh* **173**

rahīg slave; boy **189 B53 C33 C38 C55 C56**. Cf. **C38**. *1.*; **B53**. *1.*

rāmišn joy; repose **16 33 97 122 127 141 156 189 190 192 193 195 196 208 212 229** 238 **254 275 A5 B14 B19 C74 E30a E30b E32**. See also *a-rāmišn, pad-rāmišn*

rang stratagem, trick **47**

ranz effort, pain 80 **81 106 242 304 305 C16 E29**. *~ag* **B53 C5 D5 E4**. *~agīh* **106 218 304**. *~agīhā* **D3**. *~-spōz* he, or that, which repels pain **18** D11 **E22a**. Cf. **18**. *1.*; D **11**. *3.* See also *dast-ranz*

rapiθwin middle part of the day **79**

rasan rope, cord **E1**

rasīdan, ras- to come, reach, arrive **1c 5 21 23 25 83 89 100 106 115 125 126 142 144 147 153 156 160 166 173 178 187 198 200 203 205 208 209** 211 **216** [218] **218 219 225 226 231 234 242 292 304 306 307** A1 **A5 A6 B48 B49 B51 B52 C7 C8 C9 C11 C16**

C20 C22 C30 C45 C69 D4 E10 E30a E31b E31c E31f E31g E35b E38d E43c. *abar~* **78 112 209 219 262 300 E35a**. *frāz ~* **46 236 D4 E8 E31f E31g**

rasišn coming; association **187* D6b E10 E27 E40**. See also *ham-rasišn(īh)*

rāst true, truthful **63 127 231 269 320 A6c B8 C29 C31 E22f**. *~īh* **23 91 99 114 115 127 240 253 267 B7 C69 C81 D1a E9 E38a E45h**. *~īhā* **45**. *~-gōwišnīh* true speech **247 B37 C69 E45m**. *~-guftār* **51**

rawāg current, wide-spread *~īh* **C28**. See also *kāmag-rawāgīh*

rawišn behaviour **292**

raxw Cf. **8**. *1n.*

rāy (1) (post position) to, for **2 21 23 65 78 124 126 135 140 142 143 144** and *passim*. (2) because of **25 48 69 71 79 80 100 111 119 141 146 160** and *passim*. (3) for the sake of **54 91 113 153** and *passim*

rāyēnīdan, rāyēn- to discipline, arrange, provide **33 92 153 222 B15 C26 D3 D8 E16 E31g**. *rāyēnih-* **C83b**

rāyēnišn arrangement, disciplining **18 D3**. *~īh* **E14 E16**

rāz secret, mystery **214 254 B48 C44 E43b**

rēbagīh delusion, deception **E16**. Cf. **C9**. *2.*; **E 16**. *1.*

rēš suffering **234**

rēšišn suffering **201**

rēštag rope **E22d**

rēštagīh mischief **231**

riftagīh deception; distress **C9 E43a**. Cf. **C9**. *2.*

rīman polluted, defiled; filth **52 305 E22f**. *~īh* **C66 E31b E40**. See also *abē-rīman*

ristag path **210 E45l**

rist-āxēz the Resurrection **258 C75 E45k**

rōd river **141**

rōn (post position) towards *ō. . .~* **60 E22f**

rōspīg prostitute **220.** *~īh* **93**

rōšn bright **225 314.** *~-tar* **224.** *~īh* **164 225 259 290 C82 D5**

rōy face **63* 317**

rōyagīh outgrowth **C48**

rōyišn See *a-rōyišn*

rōz day **17 89 138 151 152 200 206 227 242 301 302 317 D3 E2 E3 E31c E31e.** Cf. **E22d.** *1.* *~-šabān* **D4.** See also *im-rōz*

rōzgār lifetime; time **E31d E43d**

rūrag medicinal plant **308 309**

rustan, rōy- to grow *rōyih-* (passive) **304**

ruwān soul **3 6 21 23 25 26 35 84 85 89 91 109 113 120 121 127 132 146 152 153** 164 **174 207 210 213 219 221 225 229 236 237 239 244 252 253 266 274 285 289 291 305 318 319 323 A2 A3 A5 B47 C19 C42 C53 C80 C81 C83e D1c D7b E3 E6 E7 E12 E18 E19 E20 E21** E27 **E28 E30a E31a E31b E31e E31g E32 E34b E34c E35a** E38c **E38d E43b E45d E45f E45l.** Cf. **91.** *2.* *~-dōstīh* **C93.** *~-dušman* **236.** See also *ag-ruwān(īh), anōšag-ruwān, a-ruwānīh*

S

sabuk light; worthless **144.** *~īh* **B49.** *~-menišn* **78**

sag stone **128.** Cf. **128.** *1.*

sahistan, sah- to seem **222 C41 C73 D3 D5 E16 E35a**

sahišn approval **E43e.** Cf. **E38e.** *1.*

sāl year **79 98 151 258 D12**

sam terror, fear **B27 D4**

sar[1] head; end **82a 91 210 D3 E22d.** *~-xwadāy* Cf. **8.** *1.*

sar[2] union **62.** Cf. **62.** *1.*

sārār leaders, chiefs *~ān* **E43a E43b E43c E43d E43e.** *~īh* **B14 B29**

sardag kind, sort **90**

sārēnīdan, sārēn- to incite **78.** *sārih-* (passive) **78**

sāstār tyrant **B50.** *~īh* **245 B14 B45**

satō-zem century **147**

saxt hard; firm **128 141**

sāxtan, sāz- to make, do **89 189 222 310 319 E30b.** *sāzih-* **304**

sāxtārīh being in accord **E43e**

saxwan word, speech **23 78 125 132 C4 C37 C43 C63 D3 E45a.** See also *hangāmīg-saxwanīh*

sazag worthy (?) See *weh-sazag*

**sāzag* adjusted, adapted (?) See *hu-sāzagīh*

sazāg worhty (?) *~īhā* **E23 E31f**

sazīdan[1], *saz-* to be worthy, suitable **E43b E45n**

sazīdan[2], *saz-* to flow, pass **180 A6**

sāzišn (mode of) fitting, adjustment, handling **48**

se three **14 116.** *~dīgar* **127 A5**

sedīg "third", in the sense of middle, medium **68.** Cf. **68.** *1.*

sēn pr. n. **C83d.** Cf. **C83d.** *2.*

sēr sated, full; satisfied **94 153 D2 E31g**

sigzīg of Sīstān. See *ohrmazd ī sigzīg*

sīmēn silver **90**

sneh arms. *~ōmand* armed **C72.** *~īh* **C72.** See also *nihād-snehīh*

sōg benefit **48.** Cf. **48.** *1.*

sōxtan, sōz- to burn **219.** See also *dil-sōzag*

spanāgīh bounty **185**

spand See *mānθr-spand*

spandarmad a deity ("Bounteous Humility") **1b 77 78 114 E45h.** Cf. **1b.** *6.*

spās thankfulness, gratitude **23 29 286 302 C83e D5 E30a.** *~dār*

grateful **E45l**. *~dārīh* **120 C51 (34a) E38c E45f E45h**. See also *ana-spās(īh), hu-spāsīh*

spaxr banquet **B51**

spazg a gossip. *~ān* B48

spēxtan, spēz- to bud 79

spihr sphere; Celestial Sphere **121**

spitām pr. n. *zardušt ī ~* **295**

spōz See *ranz-spōz*

spōzgār delaying **D7e**

spurrīg complete **169** D8

spuxtan, spōz- to push, reject **26 89 292 305 D8 E8**. *frāz ~* **89 D12**

**sraw* See *hu-sraw(īh), dusrawīh*

srišwadag a third **225**

srōš a deity ("Obedience") **1b 77 78**. obedience **90**. Cf. **1b**. *5*. *~īh* **254**. *~-ahlāy* E38e

srōšōcaranām the *sraošō-čaranā* whip *aštar ī ~* **206**. *~-wināh* a *sraošō-čaranā* sin **272**

srūdan, srāy- to speak, recite **140 D1c**

srušt See *a-srušt(īh)*

sruw horn **E1**

stabr solid; grievous 128 **160 189 232 319**

stadan, stān- to take 188 **236 A2 D3 D11**

stahm hard, difficult; fierce *~ag* **E28 E38f**. *~ag-tar* **236 D2**. *~īh* **256**

stard vanquished **258**

staw powerless, incapable **91 168 236 268**

stāyišn praise **71 E35a**

stēzag quarrel **E44**

stī existence; (individual) being, entity **253 (?) E38e (?)**. Cf. **253**. *2*.

stōr horse **D3**

stūdan, stāy-* to praise **71 289

sturgīh quarrelsomeness **B14 B26**. Cf. **B14**. *11*.

stūrīh custody **296**. Cf. *296. 1*.

sūd benefit, advantage **12 135 142 156 304 C73 C74 E30a E31f**. *~ōmand* beneficial *~ōmand-tar* **23 74 89 221 D6a E32**. *~ōmandān* **E38e**. Cf. **23**. *3*. *~-šnās* one who knows benefit **D7d**. See also *abē-sūd(gārīh), meh-sūd-dahišnīh*

sūdagīh negligence **37**. Cf. **37**. *1*.

sūdan, sūy- to neglect **E22b**. *frāz ~* **E22d**. Cf. **E22b**. *1*.

sūdēnīdan, sūdēn- to benefit, aid **E38d**

sūr (forenoon) meal **206 229 319**. Cf. **206**. *3*. *~-wirāyīh* **93**

Š

-š, -eš enclitic pron. 3rd. sg. *passim*

šab night **225**. *~ān* **200**. See also *rōz-šabān*

šabestān household **254**

šād joyful **311 C6 E35b**. *~ānīgīh* **B14 B32**. *~īh* **185**

šāh king **173**. *~ān-šāh* **259**

šahr world; kingdom **136 303 304 C13 C14 C41 C57 C69 D3 D38e**

šahrestān town, city **234***

šahrewar name of a deity ("Dominion") **114 E45h**

šām evening; evening meal **206**

-šān encl. pron. 3 pl. *passim*

šarm shame, modesty **7 206 B51 C83e E8***. See also *duš-šarmīh, hu-šarmīh*

šašom sixth, sixthly **127 A5**

šāyēd it is possible; it is proper **78 80 101 104 105 110 120 153 161 169 178 188 200 203 206 219 242 264 282 284 304 305 306 308 310 A5 A6 B5 C12 D2 D4 D7b D7d D8 D12 E15 E16 E27 E30a E30b E31b E31g E34c E38c E38e E43c E45c E45e**

šēwan complaint, lamentation **B14 B31 E12**

šēwangarīh plaintiveness **275**

škastan, škan- to smash, destroy **315 D7a**

škeftīh disaster, misfortune **73 126 142 144 C9 C66 E38d**

škōh poor **71**. *~ān* [**B14**] **B42**. *~īh* **71 145 C23 C56**. Cf. **71**. *5*. See also *hu-škōhīh*

škōy awe **240 C83e**. *škōyišn* **122 254**. Cf. **122**. *2*.; **C83e**. *1*.

šmāh you (pl.) *passim*

šnāsag one who has knowledge **9 E45g**. *~ān* **E16**. *~īh* **D4**

šnāsīh knowledge **C75 C81 E32**. See also *hu-šnāsīh, yazdān-ana-šnāsīh, yazdān-šnasīh*

šnāxtan, šnās- to know **31 64 66 95 104 105 110 C55 C57 C60 D4 D7a E45f**. *šnāsih-* **71 181**. *be ~* **95**. See also *sūd-šnās*

šnāyīdan, šnāy- to satisfy, make content, propitiate **E45h**. Cf. **Op. Sec. a**. *2*.

šnāyišn satisfaction, propitiation **Op. Sec. 97 113 127 191 192 263 D7d E45g E45i E45m**. Cf. **97**. *1*.

šōy husband. *~dōst* **127**. Cf. **127**. *1*. *~wirāyīh* **93**.

šōyēndag married **72**

šudan, šaw- to go **1c 17 21 82a 87 89 141 183 188 189 193 208 209 231 234 236 275 282 287 298 301 304 305 310 314 B15 B47 C45 D1a D2 D3 D9 E3 E30b E31f E45k E45m**. *frāz ~* **61 175 302 D3**

šustan, šōy- to wash **125 317 E31b**

T

-t enclitic pron. 2nd person sg. *passim*

tā (1) until; so long as **172 213 225 236 257** and *passim*. (2) so that **1c 65 97 103 104 115 161 198 249** and *passim*. (3) would that **52** and *passim*. (4) as far as **231** and *passim*. (5) let us, let me **65**

tābīg luminous. *~tar* **224**

taft warm; ardent **D10**. *~īg* **78**

tāftan, tāb- to heat, inflame **E22f**

tāg strong; swift(ly) **295 D12**

-tāg -fold See: *ēw-tāg, ham-tāg*

tam darkness; dark **172 225 290**

-tān encl. pron. 2nd pl. *passim*

tan body, person, self **6 23 25 26 28 49 78 79 82a 87 89 91 97 103 109 113 122 130 141 143 166 186 189 190 192 193 198 207 208 213 214 221 222 229 236 250 262 264 265 272 276 285 291 292 301 302 315 317 318 319 320 323 A2 A5 B47 C77 C79 C83a D1a D6b D7b D12 E3 E9 E18 E19 E27 E30a E30b E31a E31b E31f E34a E35a E40 E43b E45d**. *~ī pasēn* the Future Body, Resurrection **229 267 C83e E45k**. *~ī xwēš* **23 28 91 93 100 115 131 250 256 302 D6a E9 E38a**. *~abspār* sacrificing, surrendering one's self **166**. *~cīnagīh* fastidiousness **B14 B33**. Cf. **B14**. *17*. *~drustīh* bodily health **17 127**. *~kāmagīh* **274**. See also *abar-tan(īh), ēr-tanīh, xwēš-tan*

tang tight, narrow, distressed. *~īh* **16 252 304**. *~ābīh* **D3**

tanīhā alone **304**

tar beyond **175 216**. *~menīdan* to despise. See *menīdan*. *~menišn* contemptuous **143 144 145**. *~menišnīh* **5 37 146 147 246 C54 C62 E11 E41**. Cf. **5**. *3*.

tarag leek **D2**

tārīk dark. *~tar* **224**. *~īh* **225 C82**

tarōmad name of a demon ("Arrogance") **1b 77 78**. Cf. **1b**. *6*.

tars fear **54 70 E31g**

tarsagāh respectful, awe-struck **48 126 127 237 250 251 E38d**. *~īh* **48 115 116 E38a**. *~īhā* **301**

tarsīdan, tars- to fear **319 E27**

tarsišn fear **69**

tawān able **19 23 25 56 83 89 100 102 129 140 141 151 168 170 172 174 212 216 231 255 270 297 303 307 310 A5 D1c D7e E8 E22d E30a E35c E42 E45e**. *~garīh* wealth, opulence; power **71 C7 C24**. *~īg* **143 145* D4**. *~īgān* **146 147 D4**. *~īgīh* **127 143 144 145**. *~abzār* having powerful means **144**. *~abzārīh* **142**.

~*-xwāstag* **143 144***. See also *a-tawāngar, kam-tawān-xīr, xwāstag-tawānīh*

tēz eager, eagerly; sharp; quick **115**

tišnagīh; tišnīh thirst **308 106** *(tišnīh)*

tištr Sirius **75**

tōhm seed, sperm **86**. ~*ag* **217**

tōšag provisions **D2**

tōzīdan See *tuxtan*

truftan to rob **E45l**

tund angry, vehement, impetuous **89 143**. ~*īh* **C14 C64**

turš sour **E35c**. ~*ōmand* **E35c**

tuxšāg diligent **29 65** 84 **97 99 161 177 211 225 244 249 285 291 294 303 308 314 A6 E30a**. ~*tom* **211 266**. ~*īh* **23 115 121 247 253 B14 B21 C55** C67 **C68 C83b E32** [**E38a**] **E45c**. ~*īhā* **151 305**. ~*īhā-tar* **173**

tuxšīdan, tuxš- to be diligent, to strive **127 188 189 200 212 291 D12 E30b E35a E38f E42**

tuxšīšn effort, diligence **E33**

tuxtan (tōzīdan), tōz- to atone **72 201 206 231 234* 234**

U

ud, u- and *passim*

ul up, upward. See *āmadan, ēstādan, menīdan, nigerīdan, padīreftan, waxšīdan*. ~*īh* "upwardness" **E45c**

urwar plant **79 276**. ~*ān* **79**. ~*-xwarišn* plant-eating, vegetarian (?) **276**

uskār thought, consideration **D2**

uskārdan, uskār- to deliberate, debate; consider **55 63 122 159 303 E45d**. Cf. **10**. *1.*

uskārišn deliberation, consideration **10 266**

ustefrīd offering **28**. Cf. **28**. *1.*

uzdēs idol **B14 B18**. ~*-parastīh* **93 B14 B20 C76**. ~*-parastišnīh* **275**

uzīdan, uzīn- to go out **D7b**. (pr. stem) *uzih-* **E43a**

uzīnag expense **304**. Cf. **304**. *5*n. See also: *andak-uzīnag, wēš-uzīn*

uzmūdan, uzmāy- to test **104 105 178 299**

uzwān tongue **60 C29**

V

vorukaš Vorukaš **164**

W

wābar trustworthy, true **Op. Sec.** Cf. **Op. Sec. b**. *3.* ~*īgānīh* **Op. Sec. 105 289**. Cf. **Op. Sec. a**. *3.*

wad bad, evil **104 226 238 239 316 C50 D4 D7a E22f**. ~*ag* **71**. ~*īh* **A5**. ~*-āmār* of bad account **C25**. ~*-axwān* of evil existence **206**. Cf. **206**. *1.* ~*-cihr* ill-natured **B52**. ~*-cihrag* **71 B52**. ~*-dilīh* lack of sympathy **C66**. ~*-hangār* of bad reckoning **C25**. ~*-hunarīh* bad manners **C34**. ~*-xrad* foolish **C18**. ~*-xwāhīh* rancour **B14 B41 C31**. ~*-zārag* of evil sorrow (?) **C9**. Cf. **C9**. *1.* See also *wattar, wattom*

wād haughtiness **C11**. Cf. **C11**. *1.*

wafr snow **304**

wāg fear *wāg burdan* **2 A6a**. Cf. **2**. *5.*

wahānag cause **260 C48**

wahišt paradise **16 50 173 205 287 298 D1b D5**

wahman name of an Amahraspand ("Good Mind") **1b 77 78 87 114 193 E31a E45h**. Cf. **1b**. *3.* ~*-dārīh* kindliness **260 C51 E11**. ~*-menišn* peaceful. ~*-menišn-tar* **94**

wanē waste **86 225 315 C34 E38d**. ~*-būdagīh* destruction **E20 E38d E41 E43a E43b**. ~*-būdīh* **C47**. ~*gar* squanderer **71 E24**.

~garīh 247 B14 **B15 C58***. Cf. **71.** *6.* *~-xradag(?)* of upset mind(?) **C9**

wāng sound **90 134 315**

waran concupiscence, lust, greed, illicit desire **1b 23 54 260 274 E8 E31f.** *~īg* **B49 C21 C38 C39 C40.** *~īgīh* **5 246 B14 B25 C24 C71 C72 E41***. Cf. **5.** *5.* *~-waštārīh* turning away from illicit desire **120 194**

wārān rain **304**. See also *duš-wārānīh*

ward dust **D12**

ward- See *waštan*

wardēnīdan, wardēn- to cause to turn (away) **322 A6 C83d**

wardišnīg inconstant **A6**

warhrān: ātaxš ī ~2 30 **295 296 B14 B18**

wārīdan, wār- to rain **208 209 304 E35b**

warm memory **D10 E45c.** *warm kardan* to commit to memory **D4**

wārom reminiscence **1b**. Cf. **1b.** *2.*

warōmand doubtful **D2**

warrawistan, warraw- to believe **35 102 111 166 170 241 274 C2.** *warrawēnīdan* (caus.) **21 E15**

warrawišn faith **21** 210. *~īh* **102.** *~īhā* **170.** See also *a-mēnōg-warrawisnīh, mēnōg-warrawišnīh*

warz action, deed; husbandry **96 314 C83a D3.** *~ud kišw* tilled land. *~ud kišwān* E1. Cf. **E1.** *1.* See also *duš-warzīh*

warzišn work, deed E38e. *~īh* **106**

was much, many 16 44 45 53 68 78 82b **90 98 100 104 153 161 169 170 189** 198 224 225 226 242 262 276 283 **304 310 C16 C37 C44 C46 C61** C62 **D5 E30b E31g E43a.** *~īh* **304.** *~-abastāg* having studied much Avesta **310.** *~-abastāgīh* **310.** *~-ābīh* abundance of water **D3.** *~-abzār* a man of much virtue **71 [104]**. Cf. **71.** *3.* *~-abzōn* a man of much bounty **310.** *~-ēwēnag* of many kinds **71 102** E27. *~-xwāstag* one who has abundance of wealth. 282 (*~-tom*). *~-xwāstagīh* **71 283 D3.** *~-yazišn* pious **310.** *~-zand* one who has studied much Zand **310.** *~-zandīh* **310**

wastar-. See *jud-wastarīh, xwēš-wastarīh*

wastār wilful, careless, rash, negligent **C36.** *~īh* **247 B14 B16 E43a.** Cf. **B14.** *2.* *~-kunišnīh* wilful activity (?) **E43a**

wastarg clothing **125**. See also *xwār-wastarg*

wāstryōš husbandman. *~ān* **293.** *~īh* **D1a E45l**

wašt sick **222.** *~īh* **222 306 308**

waštan, ward- to turn **99 136 175 269 315 C7 C39 D2.** *az. . .be* ~ to turn away from **78 92 95 204 303 323 E9.** *be o. .* ~ to turn toward **80 186 C76.** See also *waran-waštārīh*

waštār one who turns away from something. See *waran-waštārīh*

wattar bad; evil **35 64 68 82b 87 [162] 170 178 315 A5 C22 C27 D7b E26.** *~ān* **43 108 113 118 123 133 178 284 286 298 A1 B10 B44 C19 C22 C27 C28 C42 C78 C82 E24 E26 E27 E35a E38f.** *~īh* **22 71 115 140 169 261 284 323 C77 E38a**

wattom worst **B7**

waxšīdan, waxš- to grow *ul* ~ **290**

waxšīh(?) advantage(?) **E45b**. Cf. **E45b.** *2.*

waxšišn(?) growth(?) **E45i***. Cf. **E45i.** *1.*

wāz word *~ag* word; saying **55 56 76 98 161 167 181 182 183 226 280 D4 D12 D17 E45l.** *~ēnagīh(?)* Cf. **B14.** *20.* See also *ham-wāzīg*

wāzīdan, wāz- to move; to cause to move **264**,

wēdwar patient **29 306 E30a.** *~īh* **110.** Cf. **29.** *2.*

weh good, better *passim.* *~ān* the good ones **43 78 82a 95 97 107 109 113 115 118 123 124 133 166 178 188 192 251 253 255 263 267 269 284 286 294 298 300 302 303 319 323 A1 A5 B14 B19 B39 C5 C6 C61 C62 C77 C82 E6 E25 E35a E35c E38a E38f E45l E45m.** *~īh* **3 22 71 107 111 115 124 140 141 195 208 212 224 253 260 261 284 302 323 A5 B14 B15 C5 C6 C23 C24 C38 C48 C61 C62 C71 C77 C78 C79 C83a D1a E35c E38a E45l E45n.** Cf. **C6.** *1.* *~-dārišn* preservation **304***. *~-dēnīh* the Good Religion **B14 B24.** *~-dōst* friend of the good **209.** *~-dōstān* **269.** *~-dōstīh* **124 208 E35b.** See also *wehīh-dōstīh*. Cf. **124.** *1.*

~*dušman* enemy of the good **E35c**. ~*dušmanīh* **208 209 C6 C56 E35b**. ~*īh-dōstīh* love of goodness **C55**. ~*kas* **23**. ~*kerdārīh* good activity **E32**. ~*mard* **115 E38a**. ~*ox* possessed of good mind. ~*ox-tar* **185**. ~*sazag* respectable(?) **100 175**

wehdād pr. n. (son of Ādur-Ohrmazd) **D6a D6b D10**. ~*ī ādur-ohrmazdān* **D5**. Cf. **D5**. *2*.

wēnāft visible, evident ~*āg* **91**. Cf. **91**. *1*n. See *abē-wēnāft, pēš-wēnāft*

wēnišn sight, viewing **226 242**. ~*īh* **134**

wēš more; much **17 80 111 127 139 140 141 153 172 182 186 211 214 301 303 304 C2 C5 C9 C20 C24 C28 C30 C36 C40 C46 C50 C55 [C57] C62 C71 C72 D6b D8 D10 E10 E30a E31g**. ~*īgān* abundant, much **23 152 258**. Cf. **23**. *4*. ~*īh* (over-) abundance **C11**. Cf. **C11**. *2*. ~*ist* the most **301**. ~*mādag* bulky, of much substance. ~*mādag-tar* **141**. ~*uzīn* having much expense. ~*uzīn-tar* **D3**

wēzišn Cf. **C41**. *2*.

widang hardship **24**. ~*īh* **247 B14 B21**. Cf. **B14**. *8*.

widardan, widar- to pass **D3**

widārdan, widār- to pass **A5 D5**

widarg way, passage **1c 307 E45c**. Cf. **1c**. *1*.

widārišnīh passing, undergoing **D5**

widīrišnīh transience; departing **D12 E32**

wihēzag the calendar (?) **297**. Cf. **297**. *2*.

wīmān boundary **141***

wīmār ill **200 C15**. ~*īh* **106 306 308 C16 E43b**

wināh sin **5 7 13 14 37 38 43 50 53 59 70 72 80 81 100 101 105 113 119 122 127 154 166 168 176 181 182 189 193 206 227 232 233 243 272 275 281 282 287 303 306 315 322 B9 B11 B14 B15 C1 C28 C54 D11 D12 E1 E8 E28 E30b E31d E32 E45e**. See also *abē-wināh, andak-wināh, a-wināhīh, garān-wināh*

wināhgār sinner **13 14 71 78 92 181 182 E43b**. ~*ān* **B14 B40**. ~*īh* **D2 E22f**

wināhīḍan, winān- to harm **104 315**

windādan, wind- to find, obtain **65 125 129 137 218 270 A6 B50 C11 C13 C20 C25 C31 C32 C40 D5 E10 E39**

windišn obtaining; favour **E43d**

wīr sagacity, comprehension, intelligence **2 56 64 217 D1a**. Cf. **2**. *6*.

wirāst disciplined. ~*ag* **71 131 B6**. ~*agīh* **D2**. ~*agīhā* **D3**. ~*xēm* with disciplined character **E25**. ~*xēmīh* **E43e**

wirāstan, wirāy- to arrange, order, discipline; adorn **6 63 71 78 115 131 147 172 223 224 228 255 315 322 A6 C12 C18 D6b E1 E8 E38a E45c E45l**. See also *āhōg-wirāyīh, sūr-wirāyīh, šōy-wirāyīh*

wirāyišn arranging, disciplining, correction; order **160 212**

wisāndagīh separation (?) **275* B14 B19**. Cf. **B14**. *6*.

wisāndan, wisān- to separate (?), take away (?) ***20 C52 E22d**. Cf. **20**. *3*.

wistardan, wistar- See *xwēš-wistarīh, jud-wistarīh*

wistāxw confident **28 29 44 128 142 152 C8 C11 C12 E38f E43a**. ~*tar* **C65**. ~*īh* **59 247 B14 B16 C51 E7 E43a**. See also *a-wistāxwīh*

wišād open **113 142* 187 257 D3 E10**. ~*darīh* having one's door open **92**. ~*xandagīh(?)* Cf. **B14**. *16*.

wišādan Cf. **311**. *1*.

wiškar uninhabited place, forest **153 E31g**. Cf. **153**. *3*.

wiškōftan, wiškōb- to open up (plants) **79**

wišōbišn destruction; dissolution **235 E38f**

wišūdagān misbegotten creatures **E30a**

wišuftan, wišōb- to destroy **21 43 104 150 162 232 235 C1 C68 E16**. See also *mēnōg-wišōb, mēnōg-wišuft*

wišuftār destructive **E16**

wiyābān (1) misled **243 291**. (2) desert **E27**. ~*gar* **D7e**. ~*īh* delusion **E41**

wiyāxanīh eloquence **C63**

wizand damage, harm **268 292 C7 C22 E34c E38f E43b**. ~*gār* **E16**. See also *abē-wizand*

wizurd trustworthy, reliable **C29**

wizārdan, wizār- to perform; to separate, relieve; explain **146 267 D1a**

wizāy harm **E9 (?)**. *~īh* **C23**

wizīdan, wizīn- to choose, distinguish, discern **136 267**

wizīdārīh distinction, discernment **64 99 110 267**. Cf. **99.** *1.* See also *a-wizīdārīh*

wizihīdagīh separation **43 206 320**

wizīnagīh Cf. **B14.** *17*n.

wizīr decision, verdict **C31**

wizīristan, wizīr- to dispose, have power over **174 175 176 270 A6 C22 C27**. *ne wizīrēd* there is no other possibility **100 291 305**. *pad . . .ne wizīrēd* 26 **80 100**. Cf. **26.** *5.* *wizīrēnīdan* **C83b**. See also *a-wizīrišnīgīh*

wizūdan, wizāy- to attack, harm **E43b**

wizurd Cf. **29.** *2.*

wizustan, wizōy- to seek **190 D3**. *wizōyih-* **71**. Cf. **71.** *1.*

wuzurg great **158 159 161 251 281 E32 E43e**. *~īh* **100**. *~-abzār* of great faculties **E45n**. *~-menišnīh* high-mindedness **[B14] B35**. *~-xwāstag* wealthy **310**

X

xāk earth, dust **128 200**

xān house; halting-place **173 D2**. *~ag* **187 C83a D2 D3 E10**. See also *bun-xān*

xānīg well (n.) **314**. Cf. **Op. Sec. a.** *1*n.

xār thorn **B47**

xāstan, xēz- to arise **224 227**

xēm character **2 3 4 5 6 11 24 63 96 115 124 127 153 154 164 179 186 223 228 239 246 252 253 260 262 314 A6 C48 C49 C50 C50* C81 D1a D1c D6b D7a E1 E8 E22f E26 E38a E45b E45e E45e.** Cf. **2.** *2.*; **5.** *3.* See also *hu-xēm, nihān-xēmīh, wirāst-xēm(īh), yazdān-xēm*

xešm (1) anger, wrath **C3 E8 E19 E31a E43a**. (2) name of a demon **1b 23 77 78**. Cf. **1b.** *5.* *~en* irascible **C14**. *~enān* **E40**. Cf. **C14.** *1.* *~enīh* **B14 E11**

xīndag sick **161***

xīr thing **291 297 D3 D5 E45c**. *~ ī gētīg* **78 100 149 150 151 152 180 198 200 214 229 291 322 D1a E16 E22f E31f**. *~ ī mēnōg* **111 150 241 E13 E16**. *~ ī yazdān* **78 90 137 167 236 315**. See also *hunsand-xīr, kam-tawān-xīr*

xrad wisdom **1b 2 3 4 5 6 11 24 25 56 64 83 115 127 154 155 197 240 246 253 312 313 314 A6 B13 C48 C49 C50 C69 C81 C83a D1c E8 E38a E45c E45l**. *~ān* **25**. Cf. **1b.** *7.*; **2.** *4.*; **5.** *5.* *~ag* See *wanē-xradag*. *~ōmand* wise. *~ōmand-tom* **304**. See also *āsn-xrad, gōšosrūd-xrad, pad-xrad, purr-xrad, wad-xrad*

xrafstar reptile **206 317 B4 B47**

xūb good **162 E43b**

xurd small **128**

xurdad (1) a deity ("Wholeness") **114 E45h**. (2) water **294**. Cf. **294.** *2.*

xurmāg date **189 304 E30b**

xurram merry, cheerful **E31g**. *~īh* **B14 B32**

xusrō ī anōšag-ruwān pr. n. **D4**. Cf. **A6c.** *1.*

xwad self **1c 4 12 62 78 83 95 112 117 145 169 209 214 221 222* 231 234 236 269 274 724 291 300 303 A5 C11 C13 C14 C15 C21 C23 C25 C27 C29 C30 C32 C35 C36 C37 C39 C41 C74 C83d D1c D3 D6a E22e* E38d* E45j**. *~īh* **216**. *~-dōšag* self-loving (adj.) **B49 C18 C83d**. *~-dōšagīh* **1b 5 246 C23 E20 E40 E41**. *~-dōšagīhā* **C83d**. Cf. **1b.** *8.*; **5.** *6;* **C83d.** *1.* *~-wastarg* Cf. **93.** *2.*

xwadāy lord. (1) of Ohrmazd **11 19 65 82a 98 123 124 134 135 196 249 276 291 308 311 D9**. (2) in general **30 49 232 C8 E38e E43e**. *~-tom* **157**. *~ān* **D4 E38e E43a E43b E43c**. *~īh* rule, authority **14 21 26 113 148 156 181 182 C21 D1a**. *~-dēnīh* **47**. See also *hamahl-xwadāyīh*

xwaftan, xwafs- to sleep, to lie down **E31g**

xwāhišn desire **31 C36**

xwāndan, xwān to call **82a 292 315**

xwār easy, light; worthless **104 144 171 200 307 D12 E22f(?)**. *~-tar* **198 217 218** 304 **A5 C43 C67 E31b**. *~-tom* **D2**. Cf. **E22f**. *2.* *~īh* **36 C57**. *~ist* the basest; of the lowest class (?) **E38e**. *~-mādag* scanty of substance. *~-mādag-tar* **310**. *~-wastarg* with light clothing **310**. *~-xwardīg* with meagre food **310**

xwaran See *ham-xwaran*

xwardag little, slight 168

xwardan, xwar- to eat **2 88 94 132 142*** 144 **153 188 211 222 227 250** 282 288 **319** C3 **C15 D1a D2 E3 E11 E31e E31g**. See also *nān-xwarīh*

xwardīg food **250 B10**. See also *xwār-xwardīg*

xwārgōn edible **189** E30b

xwarišn food, meal; eating **153 211 222 B14 B46 B53 C15 D2 D5 D11 E10 E19 E31g**. *~īh* **E17 E18**. See also *a-paymān-xwarišnīh, ham-xwarišnīh, urwar-xwarišn*

xwārišnīh eating 108

xwarr fortune **74** 109 **115 187 253 C52 C63 C64 C81 E38a**. Cf. **9.** *1.* *~ōmand* **125**. *~ōmandīh* **C51 C69**

xwaršēd the sun **125** 164 **227 259 317 D5 E31c**

xwāstag wealth, possession **14 26 71 121 143 148 156 174 175 177 181** 182 **202** 203 206 **269 282 310 A6 C1 C19 C21 C42 C67 C68 D1a** . **D12 E23**. *~īh* **282**. *~-dēnīh* **47**. *~-tawānīh* **142***. See also *andak-xwāstag(īh), angad-xwāstag, was-xwāstag(īh), wuzurg-xwāstag*

xwastan, xwah- to plow, till, trample; to recite **299 E22f**. Cf. **299.** *1.*

xwāstan, xwāh- to seek, desire **13 14 19 29 32 53 64 69 78 92 102 110 125 129 137** 142 **144*** **156 165 181 182 189 190 214 222 231 244 270 307 308** B5 **B52 C25 C31 C35 C40 C61 D2 D4 D12 E5 E22c E22e E25** E29 **E30a E30b E31f E39 E43d E45l**. See also *āšt-xwāhih, wad-xwāhīh*

xwāstār seeking, desirous **170 308**

xwaš pleasing; sweet **250 D2**. *~-tar* **90 B10**

xwēdōdah consanguine marriage **C82**

xwēš own; self **3 11 12 32 47 83 91 95 101 113 115 127 129 130 132 135 136 142 155 161 166 168 169 185 188 196 198 208 212 214 223 228 231 234 237 238 244 250 252 269 272 279 292 304 305 319 A2 A3 A6 B3 B14 B34 B53 C6 C23 C24 C33 C34 C36 C38 C39 C52 C55 C57 C59 C60 C64-C68 C71 C73 C83c D1c D2-D5 D7d D8 D12 E1 E6 E7 E22c E22f E31f E31g E35a E35b E38d E38f E45b E45e E45l E45n**. *~-tar* **A2**. See also *bahr, dēwān-xwēš, tan.* *~ān* kinsmen, members of one's family **267**. *~īh* possession **272**. *~īhā-tar* **E43b**. *~-kārag* a person who fulfils his duty **9**. *~-kārīh* (fulfilment of) duty **115 202** 228 **231 267 267* 298 319 322 C34 C55 D2 E32 [E38a] E45k**. Cf. **9.** *1.* *~-kārīhā-tom* **13**. See also *a-xwēš-kārīh.* *~-tan* (him)self **2 13 44 52 66 71 90 125 145 169 223 224 227 261 269 272 322 325 A1 B52 B53 C5 C35 C41 C56 C57 C72 C73 C74 C77 C78 D2 D7c D7d E1 E2 E30b E31c E31e E34c E35b E35c [E38a] E45b**. *~-wastarīh* dressing in one's own (fitting ?) garments **93**. Cf. **93.** *2.*

xwēšāwand-dārīh support of one's kinsmen **114 E45h**

Y

yahūd Jews **321**. *~īh* **321**

yaštan, yaz- to worship, perform worship **125 233 317 D2 E31c**. See also *yazd-yašt*

yazd god **Op.Sec.a. 1a 79 91 95 98 101 106 112 113 130 155 170 187 210 214 221 222 236 237 265 302 306 E2 E9 E34a**. *~ān* **1c 20 28 43 44 84 91 96-98 106 113 116 122 125 126 133 156 167 170 187 192 204 206 210 214 227 230 231 236 240 250 251 253 254 263 267 272-274 291 296 298 301 306 319 A1 B14 B17 C45 C75 C77 C82 C83e D1b D6b D7d E1 E7 E10 E22e E31c E35c E38a E38d E38f E45f E45g E45l E45m**. Cf. **E9.** *2.* *xīr ī ~ān* See *xīr.* *~ān-ana-šnāsīh* lack of knowledge of the gods **C54**. *~ān-hayyār* an assistant of the gods **E31e**. *~ān-šnāsīh* knowledge

of the gods C53. *~ān-xēm* of godly character **221 222**. *~-yašt* worship of the gods **85**.

yazišn worship 122 **125 233 240 253 254 257 B14 B17 C75 C82 D1b E45m**. See also *was-yazišn*

yim Yima **152**

Z

-z, -ez encl. conjunction *passim*

zad strife, striking **C30**. Cf. **C30**. *2*. *~ag* smitten, stricken **51**. *~agīh* **E31c**. *~brēhīh* bad fortune **C70**

zadan, zan- to smite, strike **51 78 98 225 227 234 256 303 308 C20 D2 D8 E8 E31a**. *zanih-* **275**

zādan, zāy- to be born **77 123 267 292**. See also *ana-zād*

zadārīh contentiousness **256**. See also *abārōn-zadārīh*

zaman time, hour 200 **236 B11**. *~īh(?)* divination(?) **93 256**

zamān time, moment **16 128 224 225 B6 C83b D6a D8 E22a E43d**. *pad-~* **92 173**. See also *ham-zamān*

zamīg earth **200** C82 **C83a**

zamīn earth **B4**

zamistān winter **304**

zan woman; wife **72 86 92 93 127 132 153 166 220 257 B14 B34 B53 C33** C38 **C39 C55 C56 D1a D12 E31g**. *~ān* **B48 D1a**

zand commentary on the Avesta **182 215 217 254 266 299 B12 C26 C27 D3 D5** D10 **E45c**. *~-abastāg* Avesta with Zand **C28**. *~īg* heretic **288***. See also *abastāg, was-zand(īh)*

zanišn smiting, striking (n.) **B14 B44 B50**

zānūg knee **258**

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zardušt Zoroaster **163 295 B5 B6**. See also *ādurbād ī zarduštān*

zardušt ī ādurbādān Cf. **D8**. *2*.

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zarrēn golden **90 175**

zastan, zah- to seek **D3**

zāyišn birth **300**

zāz grass **186**. Cf. **186**. *1*.

zīndag living **52 100 134**. *~īh* **127 239 240 316 C59 C81 D1a E32**

zīstan, zīw- to live **71 106 151 C10 C17 C21 C61 C62**

zīwišn life **206**. *~īh* **E35a**. See also *dēr-zīwišn, hu-zīwišnīh*

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'ywb'ly Cf. **D10**. *2*.

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